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The fathers of the German
Reformed Church in Europe

THE
FATHERS
OF
The German Reformed Church
IN
EUROPE AND AMERICA.

BY
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"BIRDS OF THE BIBLE," "UNION WITH THE CHURCH," AND
"THE LIFE OF SCHLATTER."

Like the tower of David builded for an armoury, whereon there hang
a thousand bucklers, all shields of mighty men.—SONG OF SOLOMON, iv. 4.

VOL. I.

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TO
THE MINISTERS
OF
The German Reformed Church,
WHO
HAVE ENTERED INTO THE LABORS
OF THE
WORTHY DEAD;
AND
ON WHOM RESTS THE RESPONSIBILITY
OF
CARRYING FORWARD THE WORK
SO WELL BEGUN BY
THE FATHERS,
THESE VOLUMES
Are Humbly Dedicated.

PREFACE.

WITH sincere gratitude to God, we herewith present to the Church the first volume of "THE FATHERS OF THE REFORMED CHURCH IN EUROPE AND AMERICA," the history of whose preparation has extended over four laborious years. The second volume, which at present we hope will complete the work, is nearly ready, and shall, if God will, follow this in the coming autumn.

When the work was commenced, we were only deeply impressed with a sense of its necessity, having at the time but little idea of what it ought to be, or would be when finished. Nor did we think of undertaking it ourselves, until after we had earnestly, and for a long time, urged it in vain upon several others. At length we began it, because we felt it ought to be done, and continued it because our heart grew into it as we advanced. Like Abraham, we went out, not knowing whither we went. Hence, the work is not at all what it was at first, or at any time, designed to be. The life by which it grew gave it plan and shape.

It was at first intended that the work should consist of one volume of common size. In time, however, the life of Rev. Michael Schlatter itself claimed that tribute; and we soon found that the general field was much larger and richer than we at first knew. So also, the

work was at first only to embrace the American Fathers; but friends, in whose judgment we trusted, wished us to include also the Reformers on the Reformed side. It was soon seen that the whole could not be compressed into one volume of convenient size, and so we gave up all limitation in regard to plan, and determined to follow the work wheresoever it might lead us. We could not find it in our heart to suppress interesting facts in our American ecclesiastical history, which we had gathered with pains, and which, if not recorded now, after a few more revolutions of time, might no more be found. Such a loss might, after all, be regarded by those who come after us as a greater evil than a large book.

In the Lives of the Reformers, as regards arrangement, we have followed the order in which we supposed their acts would be best understood, mutually illuminating one another. In the preparation of this part of the work, we called in the aid of some literary friends, which we are sure will meet the approbation of our readers. The lives of *Æcolampadius*, *Bullinger*, *Melanchthon*, *Calvin*, and *Beza*, have been prepared for us by Rev. Prof. Philip Schaff, D. D., of Mercersburg, Pa. *Farel* is from the pen of Rev. J. W. Nevin, D. D., written at first for the Lutheran Year Book of the Reformation, published by Dr. Kurtz, of Baltimore, and introduced here by the kind consent of its author and the publisher of that work. *De Lasky* has been prepared for us by Rev. Prof. E. V. Gerhart, President of Franklin and Marshall College, Lancaster, Pa. The rest of the Reformers we furnish ourselves, aiming, in their preparation, not at giving original, but complete sketches. With many others, free use has been made

of Dr. Nevin's Introduction to Williard's translation of Ursinus' Commentary on the Heidelberg Catechism; Herzog's Encyclopedia, both the original, and the English translation, under the editorship of Dr. Bomberger; Göebel's History of the Christian Life in the Churches on the Rhine; a Sketch of the Life of Zwingli, translated by Dr. Fisher, and published in the German Reformed Messenger some years ago; and D'Aubigné's History of the Reformation. We have used the language of these sources in some cases when we found it fully adapted to our purpose.

In arranging the Lives of the American Fathers, we have followed an order which will easily be discovered by the reader. We have first given, in chronological order, the lives of those who labored in this country previous to the arrival of Mr. Schlatter, eleven in number. The first five, Weiss, Boehm, Goetschies, Reiger, and Miller, being of the proper Reformed type—the five which follow, namely, Bechtel, Antes, Lischy, Brandmiller, and Rauch, belonging to the Union movement of "the Congregation of God in the Spirit." Wirtz cannot properly be classed with either of these, but comes in chronologically where we have placed him. After Wirtz is the place for Mr. Schlatter, but as we have published his life in a separate volume, we thought it superfluous to introduce a sketch here. Next we shall introduce those whom Mr. Schlatter brought with him in his return from Europe in 1752; after which we shall place them in the order of time as they arrived in this country, or entered upon the work of the ministry.

In the case of the Reformers, we did not think it

would add materially to the work to give sources and authorities, as these are open to all inquirers. . In the Lives of the American Fathers, however, the sources are carefully given, either in the text or in the margin.

Many ministers and laymen in the German Reformed Church, and many antiquarian friends elsewhere, have rendered us important and cheerful service, of which we hope due acknowledgment will always be found in the book. Should any have been omitted, the cause must be sought, not in wilful neglect, or in a want of proper appreciation of the favor, but in the great difficulty and labor required to bring together into orderly form and place, so vast an amount of scattering and often fragmentary material.

In the preparation of this work we have endeavored to do the best in our power. That it is entirely free from mistakes, we cannot hope. Whilst we are willing to bear the blame of a full share of its defects, we respectfully ask the reader, who may discover any omissions in it, to see in that fact his own condemnation, and penitently to blame himself for not furnishing us with the information which we so earnestly and so long begged him to communicate. If we entertain one wish beyond the prayer that the book may be a blessing to the Church, it is that it may furnish evidence of faithfulness, seeing it is graciously required of us, not that we succeed, but that we have been faithful. For this we have labored. We have written vast numbers of letters—we have travelled in pursuit of facts—we have taken down the traditions of the aged, and compared them with preserved records—we have searched old

files of newspapers and pamphlets in the libraries of Philadelphia and elsewhere—we have examined piles of old letters in English, German, Dutch, and Latin—we have gone patiently through the Cœtal and Synodical minutes and archives, so far as they are still extant, from 1748 down to the present time—we have carefully waded through a bundle of documents in German, Dutch, and Latin, procured some years ago from the ecclesiastical Archives of Holland, through Dr. Broadhead, of New York—we have examined, either personally or through friends, all the old congregational records throughout the Church—we have rummaged the old papers left behind by many of the earliest deceased ministers—we have been in garrets and in graveyards—we have begged and bought material—in short, we have sought wherever hope of success invited us, like one who seeks for goodly pearls. Nor have we failed, as we hope the book will show, carefully to study the times, and to bring the collateral history of the age, covered by our sketches, into constant service. But why should we trouble the reader with any of the toils of the way? Only thus much we desired to say as furnishing a glimpse into the history of the work.

Here, then, is the building, with the scaffolding taken down. What that has been, it would take a volume to tell. The varied, wearisome labor, required in the preparation of these Lives, no one can know. Though laborious, the work has not been without its pleasures. There is a quietness and truthfulness in all the events of the past, with which it is peace to commune, and which are not without power to subdue and soothe the spirit, amid the restlessness and change of the pre-

sent. This we have often felt as a rich reward by the way.

It is with feelings of peculiar solemnity that we remember, and record the fact, that Rev. J. L. Reber, who started out with us as a companion in the present labor, and, who it was designed, should furnish the work in German, has not lived to see its close. Soon after the labor of collecting material had been commenced, his health began to fail to such an extent, that he felt himself constrained to ask leave to withdraw. Still, he manifested a deep interest in the work, and did what he could to advance it. We are especially indebted to his diligence for the collection of some facts in regard to several pastors who labored in Lebanon county. Instead of having enjoyed his assistance in preparing these Lives, it is our mournful duty to include his own name in this list of the worthy dead. Such is life!

We extend our warmest thanks to the many kind friends, known and unknown, who, by their aid and their frequent inquiries in regard to the progress of the work, have cheered us through these labors. Should any one striving for masteries, be in the least stimulated in his course by this "cloud of witnesses," let him give glory to Jesus Christ, the Author and Finisher of our Faith, whom we, with those whose lives are here recorded, worship as the only true God and Eternal Life, and at whose feet we regard it as our highest honor to lay down our humble labors.

LANCASTER, *July* 10, 1857.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
DEDICATION.....	3
PREFACE.....	5
INTRODUCTION.....	13

REFORMERS.

Ulric Zwingli	21
John Ecolampadius.....	60
Henry Bullinger.....	72
Berthold Haller.	86
Martin Bucer.....	98
Philip Melancthon.....	112
William Farel	127
John Calvin.....	162
Theodore Beza.....	181
John De Lasky.....	190
Frederick III.....	219
Zacharias Ursinus	232
Casper Olevianus.....	246

AMERICAN FATHERS.

George Michael Weiss.	263
John Philip Boehm.....	275
Johannes Henricus Goetschies.....	292
John Bartholomaeus Reiger.....	297
John Peter Miller.....	301
John Bechtel.....	312
Henry Antes.....	326
Jacob Lischy.....	339
John Brandmiller.....	375
Christian Henry Rauch.....	381
John Conrad Wirtz.....	390

INTRODUCTION.

It is congenial with the spirit of Christianity to cherish old associations. The pious heart seeks to sanctify everything with which it associates, and longs to appropriate it to its own high and lasting purposes. While it impresses everything with which it comes in contact, it is in turn itself impressed by that which it meets and consecrates to its own use; and thus it ever bears along the Past, as part of itself, cherishing with delight all its hallowed associations. Hence, we find, even among pagan nations, that their antiquities are *sacred* antiquities. That which was associated with their religion has been best preserved in their traditions: these glimmer farthest back in the morning twilight of their annals. While their thrones, their capitols, their laws, and the pageantry of state, have, to a great extent, vanished, so that their places are scarcely known, their temples, their altars, their gods, their religious doctrines, services, and songs, have been faithfully preserved and transmitted, amid the ruinous changes which time has wrought, through many hoary centuries.

In proportion as the Christian religion is better than the pagan, does it exceed it in its veneration for the Past. As its associations are better than those of pagan religions, so much more warm and watchful is the jealousy with which it cherishes them. Hence, we find among the Jews such strong reverence for sacred places. The places where God revealed Himself to

them, in dreams or visions, were sacred spots to them ever afterwards. Where the patriarchs build altars, there the tribes build the tabernacle, and there the nation builds its temple and its holy city. Their altars are known to them as the altars of their fathers, their worship as the statutes of their fathers, their laws as the covenant of their fathers, and their God as the God of their fathers. They refer with the easiest familiarity, to the days of old, the times of old, the sayings of old, the works of old, and the years of ancient times. From God's dealings with their fathers, they infer His faithfulness to them; and, in the very places where they worshipped, they believed Him to be nearer to them, than in all the world beside. It is a most significant and touching fact, that, even at this day, the Jews of Palestine, and pilgrims to the Holy City, pay tribute to the Mohammedans for permission to approach and kiss the foundation-stones of the ancient temple. Affecting sight! There they bend their knees, in the most devout reverence, lay their foreheads against the wall, and weep! "If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her cunning. If I do not remember thee, let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth, if I prefer not Jerusalem above my chief joy." Even at this day, the faithful children of Abraham, in whatever land they are exiled, cherish, with a kind of mournful pleasure, the recollection of all "the pleasant things" of their ancient glory. The song which moans, like an autumn wind, through the lonely chambers of their hearts, is still

"Thou ruined Salem, to our eyes
Each day in sad remembrance rise!"

Such is the strength and beauty of sacred attachments. Shall we not cherish them with the same religious faithfulness? Shall we break away from the Past? Shall we forget our fathers, their history, and their religion, and thus show ourselves more unlovely than Jews, or even more ungrateful than pagans? Shall we inherit the Church property, which their pains have gathered—shall we worship in the temples which their hands have built, surrounded by the silent and solemn graves where

their ashes rest, without reviewing their history, doing honor to their memory, and stirring up our hearts to gratitude towards God, who has made us the happy heirs of such an inheritance? Surely that would be ungrateful. It is said that he is a rake who has forgotten his childhood home; but we may, with as much truth, designate him as such, who can treat that as common which was sacred in the eyes of his forefathers, unless it be discovered to be in its nature evil. Of this sacrilege we will not be guilty. We will do honor to those who have gone before us, by reviewing the history of their pious acts, and tracing the dealings of God with them, in generations past.

There is, moreover, something pleasant in the assurance we have, that our religious faith is not of yesterday; that the system of doctrine and worship with which our deepest feelings are bound up, has a history; that it has been tried by the experience not only of generations, but of ages. We feel that we have not hung our hopes upon the restless and changing present, but that we have counselled with the sage-like and venerable past. "Our fathers have told us what works Thou didst in their days, in the times of old." When we see His acts of mercy and favor to them, in the annals of their tried and eventful lives, and see that the end was good, we can exclaim, with firmer confidence and sweeter joy: "This God is our God forever and ever: He will be our guide even unto death." In religion it is true, beyond all controversy: "What is true is not new, and what is new is not true." It is, therefore, not in pride, but in humble gratitude, that we find a calm consolation in the fact that we stand in a historical, as well as doctrinal, communion with the piety of the solemn past; that we have descended, not only by birth, but by the higher succession of faith, from "the noble army of martyrs," and from those venerable fathers who have left us such monuments of their faiths and triumphs in God, and who sought, as we do, "their only comfort in life and in death."

In introducing these lives of the Fathers of the Reformed Church, nothing need be said in regard to the history of the times of the Reformers. This portion of ecclesiastical history is well brought out in many works, easy of access. In regard,

however, to those pioneers who labored in the Reformed Church of America, we believe it necessary to draw out, somewhat carefully, the back-ground of general history, in which their lives and acts stand out in beautiful and noble relief. In this way only can the true character and value of their labors be fully understood and appreciated.

Those Christians of the Reformed faith who entered into the first Church organizations in this country, as ministers and members, were brought together in peculiar times and under peculiar circumstances. They were emigrants, or, rather, exiles and refugees, from France, Switzerland, and the Palatinate, such as were pressed to forsake their countries and homes, beyond the Atlantic, by the cruel spirit of religious intolerance and persecution.

In order to understand fully the spirit, character, and motives of those who founded these churches, it is necessary to glance at the religious state of those countries from which they came, at the time of their emigration, and at the causes which led them to leave their old homes, in order to seek new ones in the wilderness of a new world. In this we must, of course, be brief; yet we hope we shall see enough, in the short sketch we have space to give, to convince us that we have no reason to be ashamed of our ancestors; that they were wholly free from sordid mercenary motives, in removing to this country; that love to God, and attachment to that system of faith and order of worship which they believed had been revealed by Him, were the highest ruling principles of their souls. They came, not to seek gold and silver, houses and lands, but they *left* all these, to seek a home where no menacing and tyrannical hierarchy, by unholy means of the civil power, should stand, with terror and torture, as mediators between their consciences and their God.

Emigration to Pennsylvania, from France, Switzerland, and the Palatinate, commenced previous to 1700; and it was from this time on that those families arrived who entered into the organizations of the oldest Reformed churches in this country. It is, then, to these countries, and to this time, that we must direct our attention. The events of these times have their roots or

causes still earlier. "Coming events cast their shadows before." So we must turn a few leaves still farther back.

In France, what is familiarly known as the *EDICT OF NANTES*, passed in 1598, and which had granted full religious toleration to the Reformed Church, for nearly one hundred years, was at length revoked by Louis XIV., in 1685; at which time a series of religious persecutions commenced, which extended over one hundred years into the future, and which, for cruelty, have scarcely any parallel in the whole history of bigotry and intolerance. The heart sickens before this picture of horrors, as it is drawn out in the history of those times. We can only touch upon its most general features, referring the reader to any history for the details. During the whole reign of Louis the XIV., it was as if every evil passion of the human heart had become incarnate, as if men had become furies or devils, and disowned, not only the charity which the Scriptures enjoin, but even the mercy which is instinctive in humanity.

The Reformed was the only Protestant faith in France, at that time. This was the bush, therefore, in which the fire was kindled. They were asked to forsake their religion, and become Roman Catholics: to this they were shut up, by every terror that power could present. The Reformed worship was forbidden; emigration was forbidden; the frontiers were guarded by soldiers; and, in this situation, the rod of power was held over them, and absolute renunciation of their faith was demanded: this, or death! And now the scene of horror opens! The Huguenots¹ at first sought secret places in which to hold their

¹The Reformed were called Huguenots. Several reasons have been assigned why this name was given to them. The truth, no doubt, is, that this word is derived from the German *EIDGENOSSEN*, which, by the aid of a bad French pronunciation, was easily corrupted into Huguenot. It is a word which means, "those who are partakers in an oath." It originally designated those Swiss patriots who, at different times, bound themselves together in an oath for the liberty of their country. It was afterwards applied to the French Protestants, who, in 1550, also bound themselves in an oath, as a guard for their own rights.

worship, but they were discovered, and punished in every imaginable way. "They cast some into large fires, and took them out when they were half roasted. They hanged others with ropes under their arm-pits, and plunged them several times into wells, till they promised to renounce their religion. They tied them like criminals on the rack, and poured wine, with a funnel, into their mouths, till, being intoxicated, they declared that they had consented to become Catholics. Some they slashed and cut with pen-knives; some they took by the nose with red-hot tongs, and led them up and down the rooms till they promised to turn Catholics!"

The onset was made in every imaginable way, and all kinds of means were employed to induce them to renounce their faith, and submit to the reigning powers in Church and State. They made promises, offered bribes, assailed them with threats, and subjected them to vexations and tortures. "Troopers, soldiers, and dragoons, went into the Protestants' houses, where they marred and defaced their household stuff, broke their looking-glasses and other utensils, threw about their corn and wine, sold what they could not destroy; and thus, in four or five days, the Protestants were stripped of above a million of money. But this was not the worst: they turned the dining-rooms of gentlemen into stables for horses, and treated the owners of the houses where they quartered with the greatest cruelty, lashing them about, not suffering them to eat or drink. When they saw the blood and sweat run down their faces, they sluiced them with water; and, putting over their heads kettle-drums turned upside down, they made a continual din upon them, till these unhappy creatures lost their senses. One Isaac Favin, a Protestant citizen, they hung up by his arm-pits, and tormented him a whole night, by pinching and tearing off his flesh with pincers. They made a great fire round about a boy, twelve years old, who, with hands and eyes lifted up to heaven, cried out, "My God, help me!" and when they found the youth resolved to die rather than renounce his religion, they snatched him from the fire just as he was on the point of being burnt. In several places, the soldiers applied red-hot irons to the hands and feet of men,

and the breasts of women! At Nantes, they hung up several women in a state of perfect nudity! They bound mothers that nursed to posts, and let their sucking infants lie languishing in their sight, for several days and nights, crying and gasping for life. Some they bound before a great fire, and, being half roasted, let them go—a punishment worse than death. Amidst a thousand hideous cries they hung up men and women by the hair, and some by their feet, on hooks in chimneys, and smoked them with the wisps of wet hay, till they were suffocated. They stripped them naked, and, after a thousand indignities, stuck them with pins and needles from head to foot! In some places, they tied fathers and husbands to their bed-posts, and, before their eyes, committed the most brutish indignities upon the persons of their wives and daughters! They blew up men and women with bellows, till they burst them! If any, to escape these barbarities, endeavored to save themselves by flight, they pursued them into the fields and woods, where they shot at them like wild beasts, and prohibited them from departing the kingdom, upon pain of confiscation of effects, the galleys, the lash, and perpetual imprisonment.”

On one occasion, in 1692, when about 7000 Protestants were together in one place; for fear of these enemies, troops were sent upon them under pretext that the Catholics were exposed to insult from them. The populace received the promise that all the spoils should be theirs, if they would fall upon them and plunder them. This they readily accepted; the defenceless Huguenots became an easy prey. One hundred and thirty-five men and women were taken captives, tied together, two by two, and led away to prisons, pains, or death. The female captives were stripped quite naked. Some of the men escaped into the woods. Of one, it is related that when he was caught in the woods, he was stripped and tied to a tree, to die of cold and starvation; and when he was found and released by a merciful Irishman, whose heart was moved to pity by his miseries, he was afterwards fastened again to the same place, and the Irishman was threatened with the same death if he dared again to show mercy. “Females were found with their noses cut off, and

their eyes put out; and the bodies of the slain were cast upon the dunghills," in beastly contempt!

It is said that, in this fire, kindled by those inhuman monsters, who acted as the instruments of Louis XIV, one hundred thousand persons were sacrificed; and of that number, the tenth part perished in the flames, by the gibbet, or on the wheel! In 1697, the King ordered each one of his chief men to draw up an account of the state of things in general in the kingdom, and of the condition of the Huguenots; these reports the King is said to have read with pleasure! No wonder it pleased him, when the revocation of the Edict which led to all these miseries of the Huguenots is pronounced to be "the most glorious of the King's acts, the most advantageous to religion, and most beneficial to the state." Alas! for human pride, that thus glories in its own sin and shame. Surely religion ceases to be religion when it ceases to have charity. Zeal must be *in* charity, not *against* it.

The state of things became daily more severe for the Huguenots. At length, their patience was at an end, and they became desperate under their wrongs. They saw that no morning promised to dawn upon the long night of their woes, and that, sooner or later, those who still remained, must either renounce their faith, or die like the rest. Leaders arose among them, who cried, "The sword of the Lord, and of Gideon!" The worn and wasted Huguenots, inspired with new life, flew to the standards of hope, and—was it right or wrong?—resolved, if they must die for their faith, to die hard, and that upon the field. A series of desperate conflicts ensued between the oppressors and the oppressed, which began in 1702, and lasted some years. This is called the war of the *Camisards*; which word is derived from a French word signifying an attack in the night. The Huguenots were now comparatively few, many having left the country at the beginning of the evil times, before emigration was prohibited; many stole out in spite of the prohibition, many had already died as martyrs, and some, through fear of death, and weary of this long siege of troubles, had renounced their faith. They were poor and wasted, their property having been confiscated. They had few men, few means, and few instruments, and were

in a bad condition to carry on a war of defence. Yet they gathered gradually, men, arms, and ammunition; and, securing for their future use the arms of their foes whom they at times overcame, they had at length considerable resources. Sometimes they were victorious, and then again their enemies—and thus in doubtful trembling poise the scales of conflict hung.

At length, there came an evil hour for the Huguenots! It was the discovery of their principal magazine, in a vast cavern near Hieuset, which had served them as a hospital, arsenal, storehouse, and asylum for their wives and children. "An aged female, who was observed to proceed occasionally to the wood which concealed this retreat, was charged with carrying supplies to some of the insurgents: she was arrested and threatened with death, if she did not reveal the objects of her visits. Her answers were evasive; and Lelande, who commanded in that district, ordered her to be hanged. Her firmness withstood the effects of that threat until the moment of her execution, when she purchased her pardon by revealing the fatal secret! A strong detachment proceeded with her to the cavern, where about thirty wounded Camisards gave evidence that her revelations were true. Some of them were not expected to recover from the wounds they had received in the last battle; but, although their condition was sufficient to inspire pity, they were all put to death by the soldiers. As the troops advanced, they discovered large quantities of provisions of every kind, arms and ammunition, and a store of medicines and surgical instruments. This was followed by the pillage of Hieuset and other towns, with the massacre of the inhabitants."

Thus, with the taking of their stronghold, and the loss of all their resources, the Huguenots were much disheartened, reduced, and greatly exposed to their enemies. But they yielded not. Though weakened and scattered, they still met their enemies with a heroism that fears the wrong, but not death, shouting as before, "The sword of the Lord!" Partly wearied by the conflict, and perhaps moved with pity and a guilty conscience, the government made some moves towards compromise and reconciliation; but these advances were looked upon as insincere, even

so far as they went, and they did not include all that the insurgents asked. Bribes were also, in an indirect way, proposed to them, but these they rejected with disdain. When a handful of louis d'or were scattered before the ranks of the insurgents, they said, "We do not want money, but liberty of conscience." In short, the tone of the government was too proud—their previous professions of conciliation had too frequently proved hypocritical, and it was, moreover, too plain that, behind all outward signs of favor, lay the old, dark determination to annihilate the Reformed faith in the kingdom. The struggle, therefore, continued, and was just of such a character as we might suppose, when carnal policy and power are arrayed against men who are clinging to the highest hopes which a mortal can cherish—who are actuated by the highest principles which can fill a Christian's soul, and who are standing for their faith, their altars, and their God.

Such was the state of things during the whole reign of Louis XIV., whose death occurred in 1715. During the first part of the reign of his successor, Louis XV., though positive persecution to some extent ceased, yet all the former edicts against Protestant worship were maintained, and nothing was done to improve the condition of the Huguenots. It was, however, but a short time that the dark spirit of persecution slumbered. In 1724, the Edict of Nantes, together with all other edicts passed during the reign of Louis XIV., were not only renewed and re-affirmed, but new features of bitterness and cruelty were added to them. Their meetings were interdicted; their ministers were hanged; their marriages were pronounced unlawful, because they were not solemnized by a Romish priest; they were forced to have their children baptized, instructed, and confirmed by Romish priests. Every means that threats, bribes, and policy, could render effectual, were used to destroy the influence of Reformed parents over their children. Their houses were searched; some were imprisoned, some banished, and some placed under the watch of soldiers whom they were forced to feed. Their property was confiscated; all their domestic arrangements were interfered with, and in many cases families were scattered, so that husbands were separated from wives, and parents from children.

It would be easy to give almost any number of instances of ministers and prominent Huguenots who died as martyrs, professing firmly the Reformed faith in the face of death, and of their persecutors. Even during some merciful intervals, when they were permitted to live in comparative quiet under these terrible laws, there was a constant cry for more strictness and severity in their application. In 1745, the prelates and clergy, in a memorial to the government, declared that there was no hope of the conversion of the Huguenots—that there was a generation of them arising, more obstinate and headstrong than their fathers,—and they manifested an unabated zeal and desire for the entire suppression of the heretics. This had its desired effect; the power of brute force, and the instruments of torture, were again applied, and scenes of blood and shame followed as before. Again a sight presents itself by the side of the historian's path, like that which Moses saw in Horeb, “the bush burned with fire, and the bush was not consumed.” In 1752, a number of ministers and others were beheaded. In 1765, the King was again memorialized to kindle the fires more severely against the Huguenots. Listen to the clergy: “It is in vain that all public worship, other than the Catholic, is forbidden in your dominions. In contempt of the wisest laws, the Protestants have seditious meetings on every side. Their ministers preach heresy and administer the Supper; and we have the pain of beholding altar raised against altar, and the pulpit of pestilence opposing that of truth. If the law which revoked the Edict of Nantes—if your declaration of 1724 had been strictly observed—we venture to say there would be no more Calvinists in France. Consider the effects of a tolerance which may become cruel by its results. Restore, sire! restore to the laws all their vigor—to religion its splendor. Let the solemn renewal of your declaration of 1724, the fruit of your wisdom and piety, be the happy result of this remonstrance.” So ask the clergy; and by such means did they desire that the existing civil power should put down the Protestant worship in France. Similar memorials were sent in from the same source in 1770 and 1772. Thus far, and even still further on into the latter half of this last century, do we hear the

virulent voice of intolerance and persecution for conscience sake lifted loud against the Huguenots, demanding that they shall renounce their faith or die. No human calculation can sum up the awful aggregate of the cruelties heaped upon the Protestants of France during the period of one hundred years, extending from the Edict of Nantes till towards the close of the last century. Any one who reads the history of this period, will be convinced that the Reformed church has the honor of counting more martyrs than all other sections of the church put together since the Reformation. It may be profitable to us, who have inherited their historical treasures, and who profess to repose upon the same faith, to "turn aside, and see this great sight, why the bush is not burned" in the midst of this fearful fire.

No wonder that, under such circumstances, they should turn away from these scenes of restlessness, and sigh for a land and home of peace, though it be in a wilderness, with the waves of a broad ocean rolling between.

Having now seen what was the religious state of France at the time when some of the Fathers and founders of the Reformed churches in this country emigrated, and having been thus led into the causes which actuated them in leaving their fatherland, we must turn our attention, more briefly, to those other countries from which many families came at the same time.

Some of the first German Reformed families came from the Palatinate, a beautiful and fertile Province on the Rhine. By reference to history, it will be seen that similar clouds of terror hung over this country, breaking at intervals, and growing darker and more threatening during the same period. Indeed, in the whole of this European Egypt, other Kings seemed to rise up, who knew not this Joseph, and who seemed anxious to make his existence bitter, and even to work his destruction. Though the spirit of intolerance in the Palatinate did not proceed to the same extent of cruelty as in France, still it was sufficient to keep up a constant uneasiness and fear. Earthquakes seemed to lie beneath them, groaning and heaving enough at times to make even the quietest times unhappy.

It is remarkable that, in the same year in which the Edict of

Nantes was revoked, 1685, which caused the troubles in France, of which we have just drawn a faint picture—the same year, Charles, the last of the succession of Reformed princes in the Palatinate, died. The reins now passed over into the hands of Philip William, Duke of Neuberg, who was of another branch of the same family. This gave a turn to affairs which tended greatly to the disadvantage of the Reformed. This new regent “belonged, unfortunately, to the Roman Church; and, although he stood pledged to respect the religious constitution of the land, his administration necessarily operated, in various ways, to make Romanism respectable, and to extend its influence. His connection with the House of Orleans, moreover, served as a pretext for France to lay claim to the whole Palatinate; and the consequence was a new war, from this quarter, which, for a time, revived in full the horrors of the Thirty Years’ War. In the year 1688, Heidelberg was taken by the French, and handled with the most savage barbarity. Not only was the surrounding country laid waste, and the city abandoned to general plunder, but the spirit of the most wanton destruction was let loose, at the same time, upon the whole strength and beauty of the place. Walls, towers, and palaces, were blown up, and whole streets consumed by fire. Immense cruelties were inflicted, besides, on the inhabitants. At the end of eighteen months, the army was forced to retire; but a new invasion followed, three years later. In May, 1693, Heidelberg again fell into the hands of the French; the old cruelties were renewed; and, to crown all, the whole city was involved finally in flames, and became thus a heap of blackened ruins. Even the sepulchres of the dead found no respect: the bones of honored princes and heroes, long departed, were barbarously dragged from their resting-place, and scattered in the streets. The whole war was made to bear the character of a religious persecution. It affected something of the merit of a crusade, in the services of the Roman Catholic Church, against Protestantism. The Protestants were compelled, in many cases, to fly the country.” It is said that, at this time, about six thousand fled, first to Holland, and then to England, having been encouraged by Queen Anne. These afterwards emigrated

to America, settling first in Schoharie, in the province of New York, whence many of them, later, in 1722, after having endured much suffering from the Indians and imposition from the whites, came to Pennsylvania: crossing over, through the wilderness, to the head-quarters of the Susquehanna, they floated down that stream in rude canoes which they prepared for the purpose, and, arriving at the mouth of the Swatara, they worked their way up that stream till they reached the rich valley along the Tulpehocken creek.

The room of those who thus left the country was, of course, filled up by Catholics, who moved into their places; and thus the influence of Romanism increased in the Palatinate, while the Reformed side was daily weakened. With an increase of power, there came also an increase of intolerance. The wealth, the power, the treasures, the hearths and homes, of the Reformed families, fell more and more into the hands of the Catholics. It was not long till the dark spirit of persecution also unfurled its colors. The Heidelberg Catechism seemed the greatest source of trouble to them. This was the Elijah that troubled Israel. They hated it, especially the eightieth question, in which the difference between the Lord's Supper and the popish mass is pointed out, and in which the mass is declared "a denial of the one sacrifice of Jesus Christ, and an accursed idolatry." They demanded that this should be altered—to which the Reformed, of course, did not consent. This was followed, in 1719, by a decree prohibiting entirely the use of the Heidelberg Catechism, in the Palatinate. The consequences may be easily imagined. Taking away the time-honored symbol of their faith was like taking away the oil of life. It was their nursery-book, their school-book, and the book around which, next to their Bible, all their religious associations had entwined. It was the standard of truth, around which the Reformed Church had rallied since 1563, and in which their sainted ancestors had learned what was their only comfort in life and in death. Rather than not have it, for their own comfort, and for the instruction of their children, they would leave their homes and their fatherland, and seek a home in lands where men *dare* believe what they alone *can* believe. "The word of God is not bound."

The Reformed remonstrated against this edict, but in vain; till, at length, foreign powers interfered in favor of the Reformed, and demanded that their religious privileges be again restored to them. They found it necessary and politic to yield to these earnest admonitions from foreign courts, and, "with a bad grace," returned again to tolerant measures. But, like all in whose hearts selfishness prevails over love of truth and justice, it was evident that they, being

"— Convinced against their will
Were of the same opinion still."

Though they were forced to tolerate the Reformed religion, it was done coldly: their countenance towards it was covered with dark frowns, and it lived as under a night-shade, which poisoned its life, and caused it to waste and wane.

In connection with this outrage upon them, in the banishment of the Catechism, were many other acts of wanton interference with their religion and their consciences, which show the spirit of the times. In the same year (1719), the church of the Holy Ghost in Heidelberg, which the Reformed had occupied in connection with the Catholics, was violently taken from them, at least in so far that they were only permitted to worship in the nave, while the Catholics monopolized the main part, or choir. As a specimen of the spirit of oppression, as it manifested itself in small details, may be mentioned the fact that a Protestant shoe-maker, in Heidelberg, was threatened with execution for refusing to contribute to a festival which was held in honor of St. Crispin, the patron of shoemakers. It is easy to see that such constant vexations, and such oppressive interferences with the conscience and faith of the Reformed, must have greatly induced emigration. Many would prepare to leave a land where they could see nothing, in the past, present, or future, that seemed to promise them a peaceful possession of that faith which was dearer to them than country or life. Consequently, the Reformed interest in the Palatinate kept on declining, "till, finally, instead of being, as at first, the head of the Reformed Churches

in Germany, it became the least considerable of the whole, and sunk, indeed, almost entirely out of sight."

If we now turn to Switzerland, the land of mountains and of solid souls, history presents similar scenes to the eye. Here the old division, which ever since the Reformation had repeatedly arrayed citizen against citizen in deadly strife at the sword's point, still reigned in all its ancient force. New provocations constantly arose. In 1709, the Catholics in Hennau closed the doors of the Protestant churches. Strife and war ensued on a small scale. In 1712, these small scuffles had ripened into a regular, fierce, and bloody religious war, in which altars, churches, and graveyards, were stained with human gore, and covered with the bodies of the dead! Dread armies met each other on the field, shouting, on the one side, "God is with us!" and on the other side, "Jesus—Mary!" Though final victory fell on the side of the Reformed, yet it was a victory which made it proper that the victors should wear the cypress instead of the laurel—the emblems of mourning rather than of joy. There is a religion which can chant the *Te Deum* after it has washed its hands in the blood of 100,000 Huguenots, as at the "Bloody Marriage" of Bartholomew's night; but that is not the Reformed religion. The scene of ruin wrought caused no joy, neither did any cheering prospect of lasting peace appear in the ominous future. The old enmity continued, and beneath the ashes of former fires lay the embers with which the next breeze would kindle up future conflagration. No wonder that the Protestants grew tired of this endless strife, which led them at length to direct their eyes in search of a more peaceful home beyond their fatherland, even though it be in a wilderness. No wonder the Reformed turned away from these scenes of never-ending restlessness with feelings similar to those of the Psalmist, when he exclaimed, "O that I had wings like a dove! for then would I fly away and be at rest."

But whither shall they look? The Lord will provide! When the lives of God's people become bitter in Egypt, he always has a Canaan prepared, to which He will lead them. When there is a Herod, who threatens the death of the holy child, He sends

His angels to direct the flight. So in the case before us ; from the fires of persecution He beckons to His people ; they follow the cloud or the star, in whatever form of providence it may present itself, and they are led to a land of peace—to a covert from the storms. Blessed are they whom God leads !

Without entering much into details, we have sought to draw a hasty sketch of the religious state of France, the Palatinate, and Switzerland, during the period in which the infant Reformed Church of America grew into existence. This may enable us to form some idea of the causes which led to the emigration of those who, during that time, came to the New World, and entered, as ministers and members, into the organizations of the churches in this country.



THE FATHERS
OF
THE GERMAN REFORMED CHURCH
IN
EUROPE

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THE FATHERS
OF THE
GERMAN REFORMED CHURCH.

ULRIC ZWINGLI.

1484—1531.

No country lies so near heaven as Switzerland. Her eternal Alps are her fit monuments, at once the symbols of power and freedom; while the quiet valleys which they shelter and shade, speak to us forever of peace and blessing. As the noble Rhine, which, in its course over many a league, waters fair meadows and blesses smiling vineyards, babbles its infant song on her bosom, so has this wonderful land nursed and sent forth streams of history which have since gladdened many a heart and heritage in Church and State.

When, in 1307, Gessler the tyrant lifted his ducal hat upon a pole, in Uri—a symbolic memorial of Austrian oppression, and an open insult to a suffering people—commanding every one who passed before it to do it reverence, there was a boiling of blood in the veins of the heroic Swiss,

which, for the luck of the tyrants, had better not have been fired. The noble women in the valleys of the Waldstatten, as with one voice, through the wife of Warner Stauffacher, exclaimed: "How long shall the oppressors laugh and the oppressed groan? Shall foreigners be masters of this soil, and heirs of our property? What are the men of the mountains good for? Must we mothers nurse beggars at our bosoms, and bring up maid-servants for the foreigners? Let there be an end to this!"

These words were life. In the silent night, by the friendly light of the moon and stars, on the lonely shores of Rutli, stood the three men, representing the strength of Switzerland—the youth, the middle-aged man, and the hoary sire. By the side of the three men stood ten times three—stood by threes together, lifted up three arms and three fingers, and there, under the solemn and starry heavens, swore in concert by the Eternal Three, before whom kings and peasants are equal, that Switzerland should be free. They said it in oath, and it was done. Then the brave Tell exclaimed: "Either my innocent wife, and child, and fatherland must fall, or, bailiff Gessler, thou! Fall thou, therefore, and let liberty prevail!" The bowstring twanged, and the free arrow lay buried in the tyrant's heart. "We will be free, as our fathers were!" rung in wild echoes from vale to vale, and from Alp to Alp.

In a people that so do, and in a country that has such a history, are the elements of power, and in

every pulse beats the life of freedom. This is the land of Zwingli. No other country could have cradled such a spirit. Deep in his physical, intellectual, and spiritual constitution, are mirrored the firmness of its mountains, the sudden terror of its avalanches and torrents, the freedom of its air, the serenity and peace of its valleys, and the wild harmony of its shepherds' pipes.

Towards the middle of the eleventh century, two pilgrim monks from St. Gall penetrated the valley separated on the north from the canton of Appenzel by the lofty mountains of the Sentis, the Sommerigkopf, and the Old Man. At the source of a small stream, the Thur, they made their cells. Gradually, thinly scattered habitations appeared around them; and on the most elevated site, 2010 feet above Lake Zurich, there arose around a little church, a village called Wildhaus. A greensward of Alpine freshness clothes the whole valley, ascending the sides of the mountains, above which enormous rocks arise in wild grandeur towards heaven.

Two miles from the church, beside a footway leading to the pastures beyond the river, there still stands a solitary house, which has every appearance of remote antiquity, and a limpid stream plays by in front of it. In this house lived the bailiff Zwingli, father of Ulric, and in this solitary chalet the future Reformer first saw the light, on New Year's day, 1484, just seven weeks after the birth of Luther.

The family of Zwingli was ancient; and not a

man in the neighboring country was more respected than was the bailiff Zwingli.¹ His character, his office, and his numerous progeny, made him the patriarch of the hills. He, as well as his sons, lived a shepherd life. Soon as the early days of May arrived to cheer the mountains, the father and his sons set out with their flocks for the pastures; ascending, as the season advanced, from station to station, and attaining the loftiest summits of the Alps towards the end of July. Then they began again to descend gradually towards the valley; and, in this way, the people of Wildhaus were accustomed to return in autumn to their lowly cottages.

Frequently, in summer, the young folks who had been left behind in their habitations, eager to breathe the pure air of the mountains, set out in parties for the chalets, accompanying with their songs the sound of their rustic pipes; for all were musical. As they arrived on the Alps, the shepherds saluted them from afar with their horns and songs, and hastened to regale them with a repast of milk; after which, the merry company, by many a winding path, descended again into the valley, to the sound of pipes. Ulric, doubtless, sometimes shared these delights in early youth. He grew up at the foot of these rocks, which seemed everlasting, and whose peaks pointed to the skies. "I have often thought," said one of his friends, "that, being brought near to heaven

¹ See D'Aubigné's *Hist. Ref.*, whose language we here adopt, through several paragraphs.

on these sublime heights, he contracted a something heavenly."

Many were the long winter evenings in the cottages of Wildhaus. At such seasons, Ulric, at his parental hearth, listened to the conversations of the bailiff and the elderly men of the village. When they recounted how the people of the valley had formerly groaned under a cruel yoke, his heart responded to the old men's joy at the thought of the independence achieved by Tockenburg, and secured to it by the alliance with the Swiss. The love of his country was kindled, and Switzerland became endeared to his heart. If a word were uttered against the confederated cantons, the child would immediately rise, and, with simple earnestness, undertake their defence. Often, too, would he sit quietly at the knee of his pious grandmother, listening with fixed attention to her Bible stories and superstitious legends, eagerly receiving them into his heart.

As a child, he gave evidence of a deep love for truth; contending, on one occasion, that lying deserved greater punishment than even theft. He was remarkably quick-witted; and, though rude and rustic like his companions, yet talent shone through the unpolished exterior, like gold from the ore, and his eyes, under his heavy brows, were not without fire. As his father observed in him the dawn of peculiar promise, he believed that he was destined for something higher than the watching of cattle on Mount Sentis, and singing the *Ranz des Bergers* among the cliffs.

One day his father took the boy to Bartholomew, the bailiff's brother, and dean of Wessen, that he might be examined as to his capacities. The dean was exceedingly pleased with his nephew, and in a short time loved him as his own son. He confided his instruction to a schoolmaster there, who soon taught him all he himself knew.

When he was ten years old, it was decided to send him to the St. Theodore school, at Basel, where he distinguished himself by his diligence and obedience, and was much beloved by his teachers. The hand of the Lord was with him, and his parents had great pleasure in their promising son.

About that time, Wolflin Lupulus, a distinguished scholar and poet, opened a classical school at Berne, the first of the kind in Switzerland; and the bailiff of Wildhaus, and his brother, the curate of Wessen, agreed together to send him there, which was done in 1497.

At Berne there was a celebrated convent of Dominicans. The monks were charmed with the fine musical voice of young Ulric; and, having heard of his superior talents, they saw in him one who might do great credit to their order, and accordingly sought to attract him, and induce him to become an inmate of their convent. His father heard of the baits that were held out to his son; and, knowing that all kinds of vice and hypocrisy prevailed in the convent, trembled for the innocence of his son. He desired him to leave Berne without delay. Ulric obeyed the voice of his

father, and thus escaped those monastic walls in which Luther had voluntarily buried himself. In 1499, the same year that saw his country triumph over the perils of the Swabian war, he betook himself to Vienna, the capital of Austria, where he attended the university for two years, and made rapid advances in knowledge.

In 1502, being eighteen years old, he returned to Wildhaus. Here, gazing for a while, as in childhood, upon the mountains around his home, he felt that he had tasted the sweets of learning; and his spirit, advanced to a higher sphere, felt no more at home amid the songs of his brethren and the bleatings of their flocks. From thence he went to the university at Basel, where he continued to prosecute his studies, acting also at the same in the capacity of teacher in the school of St. Martin, by the gains of which he was now able to relieve his father from furnishing him any more pecuniary aid. Shortly after this, he took the degree of Master of Arts, though he never made use of it himself, being accustomed to say: "One is our master, Christ."

Though fond of study, and diligent in all that required the severer discipline of the mind, he did not suffer himself to become a stoic, but cultivated also the lighter and more ornamental accomplishments. Often the joyous student of the mountains of the Sentis was seen suddenly to shake off the dust of the schools, and, exchanging his philosophic toils for amusement, take the lute, harp, violin, flute, dulcimer, or hunting-horn, and pour

forth gladsome sounds, as in the meadows of Lisighaus; making his apartment, or the houses of his friends, echo with the airs of his beloved country, and accompanying them with his own songs. In his love of music, he was a true son of Tockenburg—a master among many. He played all the instruments we have named, and others besides. Enthusiastically attached to the art, he diffused a taste for it through the university, believing it to be not only a pure enjoyment, but a necessary recreation to the student. There was no one more cheerful or more animated, or whose company and discourse had more charms.

Though he found pleasure in music, and in knowledge generally, he found little joy in the scholastic theology of the time. It was to him a vain babble of confused ideas, a weary waste of arid sands, with scarcely a single oasis to refresh the thirsty and weary heart. “It is mere lost time,” he exclaimed, in impatience and disgust.

His dissatisfaction was, no doubt, owing in part to the fact that he had already glimpses of something better. As early as his eighteenth year, a copy of the New Testament had providentially fallen into his hands, which had awakened in his earnest mind all kinds of doubts in regard to the doctrines of his Church. Besides, at this time (1505), Thomas Wittenbach, who had previously taught at Tübingen, at the same time with Reuchlin, came to Basel as teacher of theology. He was in the prime of life, sincere, pious, learned in all the liberal sciences, and well versed in the

Holy Scriptures. Zwingli and all the young students immediately gathered around him. An energy hitherto unknown breathed in his discourses, and prophetic words fell from his lips. "The time is not far distant," said he, "when the scholastic theology will be abolished, and the primitive teaching of the Church restored. The death of Christ," added he, "is the only ransom of our souls." Such words as these were germs that found good soil, and grew to that which the teacher himself could not intend or foresee, but which he lived to behold. In the class with Zwingli sat the small, weak, unhealthy looking, gentle, but keen and intrepid son of the curate of Alsace, Leo Juda, the intimate friend of Zwingli. Together they listened to Wittenbach's words; together they made music in their apartments, Leo playing the dulcimer, and accompanying it with his fine voice; together they subsequently labored in the cause of the Reformation; and death itself could not terminate their sacred friendship.

After a residence of four years at Basel, he finished his studies; and, in 1506, being twenty-two years of age, he was ordained by the Bishop of Constance. At this time, the parish of Glaris, not far from Zwingli's home, became vacant. Henri Goldi, a young courtier in the Pope's service, and already endowed with several benefices, hastened to Glaris with the Pope's letter of appointment. But the shepherds of Glaris, proud of the antique glories of their race, and of their

struggles for liberty, were unwilling to bow their heads before a parchment from Rome. The reputation of the young Master of Arts had reached these mountains, and the people of Glaris resolved to choose Zwingli for their priest. They accordingly invited him. He preached his first sermon at Rappersweil; and on St. Michael's day, read his first mass, in the presence of his relatives and the friends of his family, and towards the end of that year (1506), he entered upon his duties, as priest in Glaris.

He discharged the duties of his office diligently, in his extensive parish; applying himself, at the same time, with new zeal to his theological studies.

A passion for war at this time disturbed the quiet valleys of Glaris. It was not, however, the ancient spirit of freedom which burned to go out against the oppressors of Switzerland, that animated the bosoms of these brave shepherds; they were lending themselves to the schemes of the Emperor of France, the Duke of Milan, and the Pope. These foreign powers, by pensions, drew the most prominent of the Swiss into their service, in order thus to secure the influence and help of the confederacy in their wars. In these campaigns, the simple-hearted shepherds were greatly corrupted in their morals; and, returning to their native Alps, brought these corruptions with them, and thus gradually the poison was infused into the very vitals of society. A mercenary spirit began to take away their manliness, and sinful indulgence their virtue.

To expose and, if possible, to eradicate this mania for strolling abroad, and for foreign military service, and for annuities, Zwingli, in 1510, wrote his noted poetic fable. He represents the confederacy under the symbol of an ox, which was led astray by artful cats, though warned by faithful dogs, and by that means lost his liberty. Faithfully did he raise his powerful voice to show the people the gulf of ruin into which they were hurrying. The feeling began to become strong, with the more pious and patriotic, that a change was needed in Church and State; though the first aim seems to have been only a moral and civil reformation.

Twice during this time was he ordered by his government to accompany the troops of his canton, as chaplain, in the Italian war. The first time, he went with the confederate troops against Louis XII. of France. The army crossed the Alps, and, in the celebrated battle of Navarre, June 6, 1513, put the French to flight. Two years later, when Francis I. undertook to reconquer the duchy of Milan, Charles of Austria, King of Spain, called upon the Swiss for help; and Zwingli accompanied the people of Glaris through the campaign, as chaplain. They were defeated; and, five days after the battle, September 8, 1515, Zwingli delivered an address to the Swiss, exhorting them not to expose their honor and their lives in so foolhardy a way.

During his ten years' ministry at Glaris, he devoted himself diligently to the study of the Holy Scriptures. He took up the New Testament in

the Greek language, "that he might draw the doctrines of Christ from their fountain," wrote upon the margin the expositions of the Church fathers, and, it is said, committed the epistles of Paul to memory. Light began to dawn upon his mind more and more, and he instructed his parishioners in the pure doctrines of God's word, and exhorted them with great earnestness to lead a holy life. He himself became "a scholar of Christ." In 1514, he says: "Philosophy and theology were constantly raising difficulties in my mind. At length I was brought to say, we must leave these things, and endeavor to enter into God's thoughts in His own Word. I applied myself in earnest prayer to the Lord, to give me His light; and, though I read nothing but the Scriptures, its sense became clearer to me than if I had studied many commentators." Thus gradually came Zwingli into the light.

In the year 1516, after the battle of Marignan, the King of France expended much money in Switzerland, for the purpose of gaining over the confederates to himself. Zwingli powerfully withstood this movement. He was, however, defeated; and the French party gained the ascendancy in Glaris also. From that time, residence in the country became a burden to him. He, therefore, withdrew to Einsiedlen, where he accepted of a subordinate vicarship which was offered to him by Baron von Geroldseck, the Governor of Einsiedlen. He continued to study the ancients and the Bible and increased in knowledge and faith.

One day a liturgy fell into his hands, which was already several hundred years old. Here he discovered, that formerly the sacrament of the Lord's Supper was administered to the people in both kinds. On another occasion, he read a poem of Erasmus, in his closet, in which Jesus was introduced, as complaining that all grace is not sought from Him, although He is the fountain of all good. It deeply affected him. "Shall we, then," he exclaimed, "if this be so, seek help from creatures, from saints? No, no! CHRIST is our only treasure!"

The cloister of Einsiedlen had received several bulls from the Pope, by which was conferred upon it right and title to impart to pilgrims and visitors absolution for all their sins. The image of Mary wrought all kinds of wonders; and, at the entrance of the abbey, was written the blasphemous inscription: "Here the full forgiveness of all sins is to be obtained." Since the fourteenth century, when the church there had, as they said, received a miraculous consecration, multitudes of pilgrims had resorted thither. Zwingli, in strong faith and mightily, opposed this superstition. "Not by empty prayers, not by love pilgrimages, not by offering gifts to adorn lifeless images, do you obtain the favor of God. Christians of the present day listen too readily to our words, and neglect God's commands. They are concerned only about being ransomed from their sins, without being willing to renounce them. They say: 'We will live as we please, enrich ourselves with others' pos-

sessions, imbrue our hands in blood and murder : the Church will surely provide us with pardon !” So did Zwingli reprove this superstition, and then go on at length to preach Christ, the sacrifice, as the only ransom from sin.

Many pilgrims returned to their homes with the message : “ Christ alone saves : he saves everywhere.”

Thus preached Zwingli at Einsiedlen ; and to the Pope’s nuncio, who called him to an account, he replied : “ With the help of God, will I go on preaching the Gospel, and this preaching will make Rome totter.” To several bishops he wrote : “ The whole papacy rests on a bad foundation. Go to work and reject the errors, and the building will soon fall down with a mighty crash.” To the cardinal of Sitten he said : “ The new light begins to open the eyes of the people with respect to many things. The danger increases, and delay is hazardous. No time dare be lost. The reformation must be begun. The churches should bear the shepherd’s crook, instead of the sword. The ecclesiastics should return from their debaucheries. Only then can they lift themselves up against the sins of the people ; and can we look for a better time than this ?”

His labor in Einsiedlen was not in vain. Geroldseck, encouraged by Zwingli, caused the blasphemous inscription above the gate to be blotted out, and commanded the relics which the pilgrims revered to be buried ; and by this measure the eyes of many were opened.

Thus, it is seen that very easily and gradually did Zwingli come to the knowledge of evangelical truth. This fact makes the question of the relation of Luther and Zwingli, of the German and Swiss Reformation, easy of decision. D'Aubigné has truly said: "Germany did not communicate the light to Switzerland. Zwingli did not communicate with Luther. Doubtless there was a bond of union between these men; but we must seek it above this earth. He who gave the truth from heaven to Luther, gave it to Zwingli."

Zwingli himself has set forth this fact. Let us listen to his truly Catholic words: "The great and powerful of this world have begun to proscribe and render odious the doctrine of Christ, under the name of Luther; so that they by whom it is preached are called Lutherans. Thus it happened also to me. But, before any one in our country ever heard the name of Luther, I had commenced to preach the Gospel, in the year 1516; since I never went into the pulpit without placing before me the words read in the Gospel of the mass for that day, in order to explain them from the Holy Scriptures alone. Who, then, shall give me the nickname of Lutheran? Luther, it strikes me, is an excellent soldier of God. Does Luther preach Christ? Then he does just what I do. Nevertheless, I will bear no name but that of my captain, Christ, whose soldier I am. Now, I hope, everybody will understand why I do not wish to be nicknamed Lutheran; although I esteem Luther as highly as any man living."

It came to pass, in August, 1518, that a barefooted Carmelite, accompanied by several others, came over the Gothard from Milan. His name was Berhard Sampson; and he brought indulgences with him, as merchandise. At Uri, he offered his precious wares, and the people flocked to him, and bought indulgences at a heavy cost. Sampson came also into the region where Zwingli taught, spread out his wares in Schwitz, and began the sale, saying: "I can forgive all sins. Heaven and hell are in my power. I sell the merits of Christ to him who wishes to purchase them; but he must buy an indulgence and pay for it in ready money!"

Zwingli heard, at Einsiedlen, of this miserable traffic, and exclaimed: "Christ the Son of God says, Come unto me, all ye that are weary and heavy laden, and I will give you rest. Is it not, then, audacious folly to say, Buy letters of indulgence, hasten to Rome, give to the monks, sacrifice to the priests. If you do this, I will absolve you from your sins. Christ is the only sacrifice. Christ is the way." These and such like words found an echo in many hearts, and Sampson's traffic was much hindered; nevertheless, the monk, after remaining eight months in Switzerland, left with a wagon-load of money, which it required three horses to draw! The Diet had at length ordered him to leave the country.

In this year, the cathedral church at Zurich became vacant. Many were turning their eyes towards Zwingli, in whom they saw one who

would be a powerful support to evangelical sentiments. Myconius, who presided over the school attached to that church, was especially anxious that Zwingli should be secured. Though enemies opposed with artifice and open slander, yet, on the 11th of December, 1518, the Reformer was elected to this influential position; and henceforth Zurich became the centre of power for the Reformation in Switzerland. His removal, however, created deep sorrow at Einsiedlen. He, too, left not without feeling deeply the pangs of parting; yet both he and his charge acquiesced in what they saw to be the will of God. "Give us, at least, a successor worthy of you," they cried after him.

Here, as before, Zwingli, as a republican, opposed those political parties which stood in connection with foreign powers and with the Pope. He could not endure the thought that his countrymen should sell themselves for pay to fight the battles of foreign, proud, and ambitious powers. He charged them with selling their own flesh and blood! "The cardinal of Sitten," he exclaimed, "who recruits for the Pope, with right wears a red hat and cloak: you need only wring them, and you will behold the blood of your nearest kinsman flowing from them!" The words of a true Christian patriot.

Zwingli was thirty-five years of age when he came to Zurich, the field of his most important labors. The Chapter gave him a number of directions, which had a great deal more prudence than Gospel in them. Zwingli heard him, and took his own course. On the 1st of January, he en-

tered the pulpit for the first time, with an immense crowd before him, eager to hear the celebrated man. "To Christ," cried he, aloud, "to Christ will I lead you—to the source of salvation. His word is the only food I wish to furnish to your hearts and lives." He preached from the Gospel by Matthew, chapter by chapter. "The life of Christ," he said, "has been too long hidden from the people." The people exclaimed, with joy: "Never was anything like this heard before." He attacked with equal firmness the vices of all ranks and stations. "God be praised!" exclaimed the magistrates, "this is, for once, a preacher of the truth. He will be our Moses, to lead us forth from Egyptian darkness."

On every Friday, from December, 1520, he explained the Psalms to the farmers who came to market on that day; and thus they carried to their rural homes the precious words of life. As he had begun, so he went on, explaining the Scriptures in a regular expository way, going through the Acts and Epistles, as he had gone through the Gospels.

In the midst of his numerous labors at Zurich, he was overtaken with serious illness. To improve his health, he went to Pfeffer's baths. While there, he heard that the plague had broken out at Zurich, and was making fearful ravages. As a faithful shepherd, he hastened immediately to his flock. Every day he preached Jesus the crucified as the Saviour of sinners. At length he himself was seized by the plague, and both he and his

friends awaited his death. He was calm and cheerful in mind, pouring forth his soul in pathetic hymns. During this solemn season, he composed three beautiful hymns, one at the beginning of his sickness, the other in the middle, and the third at the end. They contain both poetry and the pure Gospel, and show a victorious faith.

BEGINNING.

Lo! at my door
Gaunt death I spy;
Hear, Lord of life,
Thy creature's cry.

The arm that hung
Upon the tree,
Jesus, uplift,
And rescue me.

Yet, if to quench
My sun at noon
Be Thy behest,
Thy will be done!

In faith and hope,
Earth I resign,
Secure of heaven,
For I am thine.

MIDDLE.

Fierce grow my pains;
Help, Lord, in haste!
For flesh and heart
Are failing fast.

Clouds wrap my sight,
My tongue is dumb;
Lord, tarry not,
The hour is come!

In Satan's grasp,
On hell's dark brink,
My spirit reels:
Ah! must I sink?

No, Jesus, no!
Him I defy,
While here beneath
Thy cross I lie.

END.

My father, God,
Behold me whole!
Again on earth,
A living soul!

Let sin no more
My breast annoy,
But fill it, Lord,
With holy joy.

Though now delayed,
My hour must come,
Involved, perchance,
In deeper gloom.

It matters not:
Rejoicing yet,
I'll bear my yoke
To heaven's bright gate.

As his sickness had spread sorrow, so the news of his recovery sent a thrill of joy over all Switzerland. This affliction was greatly sanctified to him; and he devoted himself anew to his work, with a firmer faith and a more grateful heart.

The Gospel made rapid progress in Zurich. Through a cardinal and several nuncios, it was proposed to raise the pension of Zwingli from fifty to one hundred florins, on condition that he should preach no more against the Pope. He rejected the proposal and the annuity altogether. "We are not reproached as apostates or as rebels, but flattered with high titles."

In March, 1522, the outward church service was considerably altered. Some ceremonies were dropped. The bishop stoutly resisted the change; appealing to the Council to preserve the ceremonies of the Church. Zwingli met him with arguments from the Scriptures, won the Council, and silenced the bishop. This discussion again gave a fresh impulse to the reform. The enemies of truth, however, were also excited anew; and foreign foes formed combinations with the papists of Zurich, and a plot was laid to put Zwingli out of the way without further ceremony. One day he received an anonymous letter, which said: "They lie in wait for you on every side. A deadly poison has been prepared to take away your life. Eat nowhere but at home. Partake of no bread, except what your own cook has prepared for you. There are men within the walls of Zurich who are bent on your destruction." The

council of Zurich, itself, having heard of a plot against Zwingli, placed a guard around his dwelling every night.

In July of the same year, there was another discussion before the Zurich council, between Zwingli and the priests, which grew out of the preaching of Francis Lambert, a Franciscan from Avignon, who was a partial convert to the new faith, but who still held some gross errors, of which Zwingli sought to convince him; and, in so doing, attacked the miserable sermons which were delivered in the cloister. Here his victory was more decided than on any previous occasion. The council now took a more positive stand. Heretofore, evangelical preaching was only allowed, now, it was enjoined; and the monks were no longer allowed to babble their silly stuff from the pulpit.

About this time, Zwingli had a conference with his friends in Einsiedlen, in which he proposed that a petition should be sent to the bishop and the cantons, asking that a free way might be made for the Gospel, and also that the law which imposes celibacy upon the priests might be abolished. The document was drawn up with much ability, and ten friends of Zwingli, along with himself, signed it, July 2, 1522. Zwingli sent the petition to Myconius, requesting him to circulate it at Luzerne. It produced an immense excitement in the Diet, and among the clergy. The deputies of Zurich alone favored the Gospel. Myconius suffered most severely, being summoned

before the Diet, and banished from the country, without mercy. He wrote to Zwingli, detailing his distress, who replied to him in the most sympathetic manner, expressing his unshaken trust in God, and inviting Myconius to his house and hospitality. Amid the storm at Luzerne, Zwingli was burned in effigy. He addressed himself to Jesus in earnest prayer, for grace and help.

Zurich was not yet calm. Zwingli and the Gospel had still their opponents, though they were few. The council appointed another religious conference in February, 1523, at which pastors, curates, and preachers, took an active part. Zwingli was not idle on the occasion. The bishop was determined to make another effort to regain Zurich, and sent deputies. Zwingli presented sixty-seven theses. The discussion ended in the complete triumph of Zwingli and the evangelical party, the opponents themselves being witnesses.

Soon after this, the clergy entered into holy matrimony. Zwingli contracted marriage on the 2d of April, 1524, with Anna Reinhard, the widow of a distinguished magistrate. She was a pious and affectionate wife. They had only one son, who, at a later day, was active in the service of the Church in Zurich.

Scarcely had Zurich triumphed over the old enemies, when it was afflicted with new ones, in the sect of the Anabaptists. They solicited Zwingli to establish a community of true believers, demanded that tithes be abolished, and desired all kinds of freedom for the flesh under cloak of

freedom of the spirit. Such was their fanaticism, that they became dangerous to the State, and had to be dealt with by the civil authorities.

In 1528, Zwingli was called to take part in the disputation at Bern, where Haller was laboring so faithfully in the cause of the Reformation. He went, accompanied by several German and Swiss theologians, and an escort of three hundred men. Bucer and Capito, from Strasburg, were also present. After a discussion that continued through eighteen sessions, the ten articles drawn up by Haller were subscribed by a majority of the clergy. A few days later, the council of Berne proclaimed its renunciation of the bishops of Basel, Sitten, and Constance, commanded the clergy to preach the Gospel, permitted them to marry, the monks and nuns to leave the cloisters; and, in four months, the whole of that large canton was reformed, and fraternally united with Zurich.

Basel, also, was penetrated by the new leaven. In January, 1529, in a public assembly of the people, three thousand evangelical persons declared themselves in favor of the Reformation, in opposition to five hundred Papists. Great excitement prevailed. All persons favorable to the Roman Church left the little council; psalms in German resounded in the churches; and, on the 1st of April, public worship was arranged after the example of Zurich.

The three cities, Zurich, Berne, and Basel, now formed an alliance, into which they proposed to receive all confederates who should be acquainted

with God's word. In other places, also, a new life manifested itself. In Glaris, the country of the Grisons, the new light of the Gospel produced all kinds of fermentation. In St. Gall, the papistical ceremonies were abolished (1528), and the news of the joyful message resounded through that canton. In Muehlhausen, the noble town-clerk, Gamhorst, promoted the pure doctrine with peculiar zeal and success. Schaffhausen reformed itself in 1529, and the governor was especially active there in favor of the truth.

Into this part of Zwingli's life belongs the well-known difference between the German and Swiss reformers, on the subject of the Lord's Supper. As early as 1527, pamphlets began to pass between them. Luther wrote violently and warmly; Zwingli replied calmly and coolly. The mild and peace-loving Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, desirous, above all, to reconcile these differences, and bring the reformers together, invited all the theologians of the differing parties to meet, in friendly conference, at Marburg. On the 2d of October, 1529, the conference began. It ended without a reconciliation. At the close, Zwingli was in tears. "Let us confess our union in all things in which we agree," said Zwingli; "and as for the rest, let us remember that we are brothers."

"Yes, yes!" exclaimed the Landgrave, "you agree. Give, then, a testimony of unity, and recognise one another as brothers."

"There is no one upon earth with whom I more

desire to be united, than with you," said Zwingli, approaching the Wittenburg doctors. Ecolampadius, Bucer, and Hideo, said the same.

"Acknowledge them, acknowledge them as brothers," continued the Landgrave. Their hearts were moved. They were on the eve of unity. Zwingli, bursting into tears, in the presence of the Prince, the courtiers, and divines—it is Luther himself who records this—approaches Luther, and holds out his hand. Luther rejects the hand that is offered to him, with the words: "You have a different spirit from ours"—which words he repeated over and over. The hearts of the Swiss sunk in sadness within them. The conference ended.

Zwingli returned, reaching Zurich October 19, 1529. Alas! he returned only to witness new troubles in his own beloved fatherland.

The lines were now drawn between the friends and foes of the Reformation, in Switzerland: three cities and cantons stood on one side, and five cantons on the other; and dissensions of every kind began to spring up between them. The Protestant free cities demanded: 1. That their calumniators should be punished; 2. That the poor people, who had been driven from house and home on account of their faith, should be permitted to return; 3. That the religious doctrines of one district should be tolerated in the others. To these reasonable and just demands, the five Catholic cantons would not agree. The Zurichers, therefore, resolved to obtain their rights

by force. Zwingli, alas! himself favored prompt warfare for the right, where, perhaps, duty would have been rather to suffer for wrong, than to demand right by carnal weapons. Berne was also in favor of forcible measures; though they proposed first to withdraw the means of subsistence, which these cities could control, from the refractory cantons, in the hope of thereby bringing them into measures. This measure only exasperated their enemies, instead of subduing them.

A treaty of peace, concluded at Capel, June 25, 1529, did not continue long to stand; and Zwingli began to apprehend great misfortunes. His mind was filled with gloomy forebodings. When he had met the delegates from Berne, in conference, at Bremgarten, and was taking leave of Bullinger, in whose house they had met, he wept and said: "God protect you, Henry! Only continue faithful to the Lord Jesus Christ and his Church." About the same time, the famous comet of 1531 became visible. Zwingli gazed at it from the churchyard of the Great Minster. "What can it portend?" said the Abbot George Mueller to him.

"My dear George," answered he, "it will cost me and many good men the sacrifice of our lives. The Church will be involved in great distress. Still, you will not, on that account, be forsaken of God."

Zwingli was much calumniated by his enemies; and there were such in Zurich—yea, even in its council—who did not cease to accuse and revile him. Zwingli blamed the Zurichers for not exer-

cising proper care, and suffering such enemies of the truth to be elected into the council. Discouraged, he even appeared before the senate of Zurich, with a proposal to withdraw from the city. They remonstrated with him, and entreated him, for the sake of the truth, to desist from his purpose. With noble devotion, he yielded to their wishes, and remained.

New insults came from the five papal cantons. They arrested ministers passing through the cantons; and, on one occasion, they went so far as to condemn one, Jacob Kaiser, of Utnach, to be burned, and actually executed the sentence! As a punishment for these acts, the reformed cantons cut off their supplies; whereupon, the papists commenced hostilities.

The fearful hour had now come. Swiss was to meet Swiss, brother was to meet brother, on the bloody field! The five Catholic cantons, Schwyz, Uri, Unterwalden, Luzerne, and Zug, prepared themselves for war. On the 9th of October, a company of soldiers from Luzerne passed over the boundaries, and plundered in the free bailiwicks. On the 10th, ships laden with soldiers sailed up the Zuyder Zee. War-trumpets resounded. Shouts for the battle were heard across the borders from Uri; and in Zug the principal force, eight thousand men, came to rendezvous.

This Zurich had not expected. They assembled in disorder and precipitation. About six o'clock in the morning of the 12th of October, 1531, the banner was hung out at the senate-house; and

about 700 men were all that rallied for the march. About 1200 Zurichers stood already on the ground near Cappel. Zwingli received orders to accompany the army as chaplain, and he went forth with the 700. "Our cause is a righteous one," said he to his friends, "but badly defended. It will cost me my life, and the life of many an upright man, who wished to restore to religion its original purity, and to his country its ancient morals. But God will not forsake His servants: He will help even when you believe all is lost. My confidence is in Him alone. I submit myself to His will."

On the field of Cappel they met 8000 men, their enemies. Some proposed to retreat; for what, thought they, are 1900 to so many? The brave people would not listen to this proposition. The ancient Swiss heroism was alive in their bosoms, but also in the hearts of their brave enemies. In answer to the suggestion to retreat, Rudy Gallman stamped upon the ground, and cried out: "May God never permit me to see the day when I shall retreat one step before the people. Here shall be my grave!"

The combat was terrible. There fought Swiss against Swiss, with the ancient heroism. William Toning, the captain of the arquebusiers, proposed to tarry on the heights, with the banner, to await the gathering in of the remaining soldiers, who were coming in from Zurich, late and fatigued. Zwingli opposed this: he could not for a moment see his brethren shot down, without flying to their

assistance. "In the name of God," he exclaimed, "will I go to them—to die with them, or to aid in their deliverance." The Zurichers were brave, but too few. Their enemies prevailed; and over six hundred strong men and true fell before their victorious arms. Among them lay Ulric Zwingli. While stooping down to console a dying soldier, a stone, hurled by the vigorous arm of a Waldstette, struck him on the head, and closed his lips. Yet once again he rose, when two other blows upon the leg struck him down again. Twice more he stood up; but a fourth time he receives a thrust from a lance, when he staggers, and, sinking beneath so many wounds, falls to the ground. Once more he uplifts his head, and, gazing calmly at the trickling blood, exclaims: "What evil is this? They can kill the body, but they cannot kill the soul!"

Scarcely had he uttered these martyr words, when he fell exhausted backwards. There, under a tree—Zwingli's pear tree—in a meadow, he remained lying on his back, with clasped hands, and eyes upturned to heaven, like one that prays.

According to the custom of the times, the victors returned late; prowling over the battle-field, like hungry ravens, for prey and plunder. When they found any one who was still sensible, they cried out: "Call upon the saints, and confess to your priests!" Two soldiers came near to the Reformer, without recognising him. "Do you wish for a priest, to confess?" asked they. Zwingli could no more speak, but made signs, "No." "If

you cannot speak," replied the soldier, "at least think in thy heart of the Mother of God, and call upon the saints." Zwingli again shook his head, and kept his eyes still fixed on heaven.

The soldier, infuriated, now began to curse him, adding: "We doubt not you are one of the heretics of this city." A fire had been lighted near the spot; and one of the soldiers, curious to know who it was, stooped down, and turned Zwingli's face towards the light. Suddenly he dropped him, surprised and amazed, and said: "I think it is Zwingli!" At this moment, Captain Tockinger, of Unterwalden, a veteran and a pensioner, drew near. He had heard the last words of the soldier. "Zwingli!" he exclaimed, "that vile heretic Zwingli! that rascal! that traitor!" Then, raising his sword, so long sold to the stranger, he struck the dying Christian on the throat, exclaiming, in a violent passion: "Die, obstinate heretic!" Zwingli gave up the ghost. He, the brave and good, whom neither promises of honor nor of gold could bribe to betray his fatherland, died by the sword of a mercenary!

They left the body there. The night was cold; and, in the morning, a thick hoar-frost covered the fields, and the bodies of the dead and dying.

In the morning, a crowd gathered around the pear tree. It was demanded that the body of the heretic be dismembered, and a portion of it be sent to each of the five cantons.

"Peace be to the dead, and God alone be their judge!" exclaimed the bailiff of Zug. The fury

of the crowd prevailed. The drums beat to muster. The body was tried, formally condemned to be quartered for treason against the confederation, and then burned for heresy. The executioner of Luzerne carried out the sentence. His disjointed members were consumed by the flames—the ashes mingled with the ashes of swine—and the furious multitude, rushing upon his remains, flung them to the winds of heaven!

We may censure Zwingli's confidence in the virtue of the civil arm. Let us not do it rashly and severely. He believed that "nations are but men," in this sense also, that God uses them as He does men, for the advancement of His glory; and that He can, and does, sanctify their power for Himself. We wrong Zwingli when we suppose that he trusted first in the civil power, then in God. He believed that the fatherland belongs to Christ and the Church, and must be preserved for their sake. He believed that his beloved Switzerland could only give itself to Christ and the truth, so long and so far as it was free. He believed, moreover, that the truth alone makes free; and that they who resist and oppress the truth are the enemies of God and the fatherland.

The operation of God's grace does not destroy the fundamental traits of a man's character. It only elevates and hallows them. As it was in the case of the apostles, so was it in that of Zwingli. He was changed, and yet the same; and the keynote to his whole life was *love of country*. Born

amid the high Alps, breathing the holy air of freedom, simple in his manners and pure in his morals, he beheld with extreme sorrow and indignation the victorious sway of corrupt foreign influences everywhere around him. He beheld spiritual thralldom and superstition in their worst forms. His soul was deeply stirred; and when, by the study of God's Word, light from heaven beamed upon his path, he began that great work whose lofty aim was the deliverance of the fatherland from the yoke of the oppressor.

This he hoped to effect by a thorough reformation in Church and State; and, for the accomplishment of such a mighty task, his gifts were peculiar and extraordinary. Possessed of a strong and vigorous body, he could endure almost any amount of toil: of a clear and penetrating mind, he was able to cope with the shrewdest politicians of his age. Bold and fearless to a degree, he was, at the same time, cautious and prudent. Though rugged and firm as his own everlasting hills, far down within lay hidden wells of humor, wit, poetry, and song, which gushed forth at times to gladden and surprise. Stern and unflinching in the discharge of duty, his heart was yet tender as a child's, and full of kindness; and his friends loved him with a devotion rarely equalled. Open and frank as the day, he hated and despised all cunning and hypocrisy. A true hero, he girded on his armor and went forth to battle against fearful odds. In a wider sphere and under happier auspices, he would certainly have triumphed, and won the admiration

of mankind, always too prone to measure merit by success. But God's ways are not as our ways. His sun went down in darkness and blood. He was too far in advance of his generation. Many of his countrymen failed him in the hour of trial; and, along with her best and bravest sons, he fell, in the flower of his age, on the disastrous field of Cappel.

A huge unshapen block of granite, covered with mosses and lichens, a fit emblem of his character, marks the spot of his martyrdom; not where his body lies—for that, as we have seen, was burned by the malice of his enemies, and flung in ashes to the winds. The pear tree hard by was long cherished, by pious hearts and hands, as a memorial; and when it wasted away, was replaced by another, and that again by another, which still lives and thrives; and so God's blessed truth, planted by him in evil days, and watered by his blood, still lives and thrives on the soil of Switzerland, and shall live and thrive, and send forth its precious fruit far over land and sea, to quicken and refresh the nations of the earth, till the very end of time.

Zwingli has been greatly wronged by having been represented as an ecclesiastical radical—one who destroyed all that was before him, and built up new from himself. To prove this would be to change him from a reformer to a revolutionist, and to invalidate his entire work. This has been done, even till now, as Dr. Ebrard abundantly shows, "rather by Lutheran than by Roman theologians."

It is well, for the honor of the Reformation, that the charge is not just.

The cry has been: Zwingli abolished everything. Not simply altars and images, but also church music, organs, ringing of bells, nay, the bells themselves, and probably even steeples! Did he not present a petition to the council for the suppression of music, singing his petition, in order to show practically the absurdity of using song in prayer? Is not the impression common, that, while Luther removed only what was doctrinally offensive, Zwingli made a clean sweep, which took away all the old doctrines and customs, constructing a scheme and a worship of his own, bare, bald, and radically dry.

The entire spirit of the good city in which Zwingli's influence was greatest, and which Schiller has rightly styled "*Old Zurich*," proves the falsehood of the charge. What is new in Zurich began in 1830, or, at farthest, in 1790. It is questionable whether any German imperial city, scarcely excepting even Nuremberg itself, has retained its ancient manners, institutions, and usages, for a like period of time, with so little change as Zurich. This shows the spirit that reigns there, which is anything but radical.

In regard to ecclesiastical polity, what changes did Zwingli make? In the cathedral chapter of Zurich, its canons or prebendaries stood till within a few years past; and the number of members composing it has never yet died out. The distinction between priest and deacon continues to

this day, in all its old legal force. The archdeacon, or "chief helper," has not become strange to the Reformed Church of Zwinglian type.

Even in the Lord's Prayer, the old and more hard form, "Vater Unser," which the Calvinistic Reformed Church of German tongue changed — though after Luther's own translation of the Bible — Zwingli permitted to keep its place; and it stood so in the church service of Zurich till the close of the last century. This is a small, but significant fact; especially as this is such a familiar practical test between the two confessions. The innovation, which the Reformed Church afterwards adopted, comes from Luther, who it is that has dared to make the Bible say, "Unser Vater!"

Baptismal fonts were set aside by Calvin; Zwingli permitted them to stand; and, in Zurich, where infant baptisms are administered in connection with the public service, they are still in use every week. Zwingli allowed private baptisms by midwives, in extreme cases; and the Zwinglian Reformed Church was more consistent even than the Lutheran, in regard to this point, in not permitting the baptism afterwards to be repeated, in case the child continued to live. In observing christening days, instead of birth days, as family festivals, the Zwinglian Reformed Church is nearer the Roman Church than the Lutheran.

Crosses in graveyards remained in general use and honor in the Zwinglian Reformed Church.

How was it in regard to liturgy? Zwingli, in his work, *De Canone Missae*, has followed the mass

service, part for part, word for word, merely changing or leaving out all passages referring to the sacrifice of the mass and the worship of saints; thus forming a sacramental liturgy, which, though it was afterwards abridged on account of its undue length, still rests throughout on the old foundations, breathing the spirit of antiquity, and which continues in use to this day. It is, moreover, full of responses: nearly as much is said by the people as by the minister. In the same way, Zwingli retained the old baptismal service, with proper pruning. Mention is even made of the chrism cloth up to near the end of the 16th century.

Zwingli put away the bells, did he? These still swing in their places, and Zurich possesses a very magnificent chime. He discouraged the superstitious practice of ringing them in case of storms, as a protection against lightning. Otherwise, bell-ringing, in all its ancient classification, at the opening and closing of divine service, the eleven o'clock, noon, and vesper chimes, down to the "coffee-bell," at three o'clock in the afternoon, has been religiously observed, in defiance of the Nurembergers, through all centuries. Strange stories, even, are told of the love of bells among the Zurichers. It is said that, on one occasion (1712), in a war with St. Gall, they brought off, as grand spoil, a huge bell, transporting it in triumph to Zurich, with a team of forty-six horses!

Zwingli abolished the clerical garments, did he? The mass dress, true. In other respects, the min-

isters, until within a few years since, never appeared at regular service, nor even at funerals, and in family visitation, otherwise than in gown and cap, and with the large white ruff.

Zwingli abolished church psalmody, did he — the chorals? He did not abolish what did not exist! He set aside the chanted offices of the convents, and the sing-song of the mass. Luther did the same; yea, even the Pope wished this reform, and would have accomplished it, had not Palestrina appeared with his new school. The psalmody of the time, it is said, consisted of an endless singing of Latin psalms to trivial melodies, often street ballads, in no way suitable for solemn Christian worship. These Zwingli opposed, on the same principle that we exclude from our church service the tune of "O Susannah!" as sung, in revival meetings of some sort, to the words, "When I can read my title clear." He abolished singing, or rather sing-songing, by the clergy, of that which should have been prayed, while the laity silently listened to the singular monotony.

Luther was able, sooner than Zwingli, to substitute the choral singing of the congregation for that which was abolished. This, as regards Zwingli, was not a fault of heart, but of talent. Luther was considerable of a poet. Zwingli, it is true, also made verses, but poet he was not. Thus Saxony acquired a church psalmody sooner than Switzerland; and this *sooner* is all that can be made of it, as to difference. As soon as proper psalmody made its way into Switzerland, it was

laid hold of with earnest, we may say even with voracious desire. As early as August 12, 1526, Ecolampadius informed his friend Zwingli, with enthusiasm, how his congregation had, of their own accord, begun to sing German psalms in the church. In a short time, it became universal throughout Reformed Switzerland; and so it continues, in the highest style of choral psalmody, to this day. So far removed have been the Swiss from all opposition to congregational singing.

Let there be an end, then, to the stale reports thoughtlessly, perhaps ignorantly, retailed at second-hand, that Zwingli was a radical—without reverence for the old, without taste for the artistic and beautiful in worship, and ready to do violence to all sacred associations of the heart, by the revolutionary introduction, into the things of faith, of a rigid logic, and into worship of a cold rational intellectualism. Whatever of this there has been in the after-life of the Reformed Church, comes from Calvin, not from Zwingli. If the question come up, which of these two reformers has more favorably influenced the Reformation, as to cultus, the deepest religious instincts of its members, as well as the deepest inquiries of its theologians, reply, Ulric Zwingli.

JOHN ŒCOLAMPADIUS.

1482—1531.

NEXT to Zwingli, his friend and co-laborer, ŒCOLAMPADIUS, was the most eminent reformer of Switzerland, before the rise of Calvin. Almost every canton of that republic had its own reformer. But, as Zurich, Basel, and Bern, were the chief centres of power and influence, so the reformers of these three cities and cantons, Zwingli, Œcolampadius, and Haller, were the leaders of the general movement, and shaped the character of the Reformed Church in the German cantons; while Farel, Viret, and especially Calvin, imbued their spirit into the French portion of Switzerland. Œcolampadius was to Zwingli, in many respects, what Melanchthon was to Luther. He had not the same degree of boldness and energy, but more learning and moderation; and thus they supplied each other's defects. They were nearly of the same age, and died in the same year: the one, like a hero, on the battle-field; the other, like a scholar, in his quiet study.

John Œcolampadius was born, in 1482, one year before Luther and nearly two years before Zwingli, at Weinsberg, a town in the kingdom of Würtemberg, which has acquired some celebrity

for its faithful women, who saved their husbands by carrying them away in bags, during a siege, in 1140; and, more recently, by the promulgation, through Dr. Kerner, of some interesting cases of somnambulism and curious spiritual manifestations. His proper name was Hausschein (house-lamp); but, after the fashion of the age of the revival of letters, he preferred the corresponding classical form, like Erasmus, Melancthon, Bibliander, Ursinus, Myconius, etc.; while Luther and Zwingli, the most national and patriotic of the reformers, retained their German names. His father was an ordinary man; but his mother, a native of Basel, his future field of labor, was an intelligent and pious woman, and exerted the first moulding influence upon her promising son, like Monica, Nonna, Anthusa, and other distinguished mothers of celebrated divines.

He studied the languages, law, scholastic philosophy, and theology, at Heidelberg, Bologna, and Tübingen, with unusual success.¹ In his twelfth year, he wrote Latin poetry; and, two years later, he received the degree of Bachelor of Arts. He was one of the best Greek and Hebrew scholars of his age; and in his riper years, published learned commentaries on Job, the prophets, and other books of the Bible. He was also very well read in patristic literature, and translated several works of Chrysostom, and other Greek

¹ In the latter town, he made the personal acquaintance of Melancthon; and, from that time, kept up a correspondence with him, although the relation was somewhat disturbed subsequently by the sacramental controversy.

fathers. In 1516, he graduated as licentiate, and, in 1518, as Doctor of Divinity, at the University of Basel.

In 1520, he entered the convent of St. Bridget, at Augsburg, to live the quiet life of a scholar and a monk. But he soon felt himself in an uncongenial atmosphere, and was carried away by the German Reformation. He became early settled in evangelical convictions, and labored for some years, as minister of the Gospel, in different places of Germany. But, in 1522, he took up his permanent abode in Basel, as professor of theology, pastor of St. Martin, afterwards of the Minster, and antistes, or superior of the clergy of the city.

This venerable and wealthy city, situated on the Rhine, between Switzerland, France, and Germany, and the seat of the famous Reformatory Council of 1430, was at that time the Athens of Switzerland. It enjoyed the advantage of a university, and became a centre of liberal movements in theology and literature, preparatory to the Reformation. There Wytttenbach taught, in the beginning of the sixteenth century; to whom Zwingli gives credit for first having shaken his faith in indulgences. In 1516, the world-renowned Erasmus, of Rotterdam, the greatest classical scholar and wit of his age, selected it for his permanent residence, till his death, in 1536; and published there the Greek Testament, and other important works. Erasmus esteemed *Æcolampadius* highly; and employed his assistance in the first edition of his *Annotations* to the New Testament. But he

was merely a literary forerunner of Protestantism, and had not moral courage enough to follow it beyond its first steps. He sincerely desired the progress of knowledge and education, but not a reformation of religion, at the expense of the unity and peace of the Church, and his personal comfort. Hence, he became more and more dissatisfied with Luther, and also with Œcolampadius,¹ without becoming fully reconciled to the old system; and thus he made himself unpopular with both parties. He occupied a transition stand-point between Romanism and Protestantism, between the Middle Ages and the modern times.

When Œcolampadius entered upon his public duties, in Basel, the evangelical party, in the congregation and the city council, was already pretty strong. But he proceeded with great moderation and caution. He thought it better first to plant into the hearts of the people the knowledge of the positive truth of the Gospel, than to commence with outward changes.

But the result of the religious conference between the Roman Catholic and the Protestant party, held at Baden, canton of Aargau, in May and June, 1526, induced him to consent to more vigorous measures. As Zwingli was advised not to risk his life on this occasion, Œcolampadius appeared as the principal champion of the cause

¹ It was at the marriage of the latter, in 1528, that Erasmus made the sarcastic remark: "Many speak of the Lutheran affair as a tragedy; but to me it appears rather in the light of a comedy, for the movement always ends in a wedding."

of reform, in opposition to the famous Dr. Eck, who, a few years before, held a similar public dispute with Luther, at Leipzig. They discussed the doctrines of the real presence in the Eucharist, the sacrifice of the mass, the invocation of the Blessed Virgin and the saints, images, purgatory, original sin, and the effect of baptism. The Romish party had all the preparations and management in their hands. The entire population of Baden were on their side. Eck conducted himself with the same haughty, self-confident, overbearing spirit as he did at Leipzig. Where arguments failed, he tried to crush the opponent by the authority of the Roman See. Nicolas Manuel, of Bern, an accomplished statesman, painter, and poet, wrote a satirical poem on the conference, where he says:

“Eck stamps with his feet and stamps with his hands,
He blusters, he swears, and he scolds:
Whatever the Pope and the cardinals teach
Is the faith, he declares, that he holds.”

Æcolampadius, on the other hand, was the picture of modesty and simplicity. But, in deep learning and strong arguments, as well as in earnestness and dignity of spirit, he far surpassed his imposing and blustering opponent; so that even some Catholics exclaimed: “O, if only this pale man were on our side, and in the true faith!”¹

¹ Another witty poem, written soon after the conference, and preserved by Bullinger, in his *History of the Swiss Reformation*, vol. i. p. 357, gives the following description of Eck and Æcolampadius:

Hence, although the Romish party, which was in possession of all the external advantages, claimed the victory, excommunicated Zwingli and his adherents, and prohibited, upon severe pain, the publication and sale of all Protestant works, in Switzerland, public opinion gave a different verdict; and the conference, instead of promoting the interests of the papacy, resulted in the triumph of the Reformation in the cantons of Bern and Basel.

Provoked by the unjust proceedings of Baden, and the intrigues of the Romish party, two thousand citizens of Basel, friendly to the reform, assembled, in February, 1529, broke the images in the churches, and forced the magistrate to introduce the Protestant worship, after the model of Zurich. This revolutionary proceeding was hardly in keeping with the general mildness and moderation of Ecolampadius; yet it seems to have been necessary, in the critical posture of affairs, and was not stained by any effusion of blood. From that time on, German psalms resounded in all the

“Also fing an die Disputatz,
Hans Eck empfang da mauchen Kratz,
Das that ihn übel schmerzen.
Denn alles, was er fürher bracht’,
That ihm Hans Husschyn Kürzen.

“Herr Doctor Husschyn hochgelehrt,
Hat sich gen Ecken tapfer g’wehrt,
Oft g’nommen Schwert und Stangen.
Eck floh dann zu dem Römschen Stuhl,
Und auch all sein Anhangen.”

churches of Basel; the convents were abolished; the chairs of the university filled with evangelical men (Oswald Myconius, Samuel Grynæus, and others); and a new constitution and confession of faith (see Bullinger's Hist., ii. 82, etc.), probably drawn up by Ecolampadius, was introduced. This document breathes the evangelical freedom and moral earnestness of the reformation period; but retains, at the same time, several Catholic elements, as daily morning and evening service, weekly communion, the great festivals, and even the public commemoration of the Virgin, the apostles, John the Baptist, and the martyrs of Christ. The churches of Basel still celebrate alternately the Lord's Supper every week, and may be said to occupy a middle position between Zwinglianism and Lutheranism. Hence, they also co-operate freely with the churches of Württemberg, in the work of foreign missions.

Ever since he settled in Basel, Ecolampadius stood in fraternal correspondence with Zwingli. He agreed substantially with his jejune and unsatisfactory view on the sacrament; and defended it, with a considerable amount of patristic learning and dogmatic skill, against the Lutherans, especially Brenz. But he differed from Zwingli in the interpretation of the words of institution, by taking the verb in the literal sense, and placing the figure in the predicate: "This is—really, not figuratively, in the sense of signifies, as Zwingli explained it—the symbol of my body" (*figura corporis*, as Tertullian says once). He attended,

in company with Zwingli, Bucer, and Hedio, the religious conference with the Lutheran divines, at Marburg, in 1529; and was there confronted with Luther, while the more vehement Zwingli debated with the mild Melanchthon. But, although the champions of the Lutheran and Reformed Churches agreed in fourteen fundamental articles, they could not settle their dispute concerning the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist. Luther even refused the hand of brotherhood which Zwingli offered him, with tears, in spite of the difference of views. Thus, both parties were dissatisfied with the result.

Nevertheless, Œcolampadius considered himself bound to keep from the further agitation of the controversy on that subject, and to lend his support to Bucer's efforts to bring about an agreement between the German and the Swiss reformers. It seems, also, that Œcolampadius modified his theory on the Eucharist, and gave up some of his former untenable assertions. His learned biographer, Dr. Herzog (vol. ii. p. 230), thinks that the reformer of Basel held at last firmly to the view, "that our souls are truly nourished with the true body and blood of Christ, and that Christ is present to the believers in the Eucharist, although not in a manner essentially differing from His general presence in the Church." This is also the view which afterwards prevailed in the churches of Basel, as may be seen from the Second Confession of Basel, also called the First Helvetic Confession, drawn up by Bullinger, Grynæus, and Myconius, in 1536, which teaches, in the 22d article, as follows: "Concerning

the holy communion, we maintain, that the Lord offers and communicates in it truly His own body and blood, *i. e.* Himself to His members, as nourishment, to the effect, that He lives in them more and more, and they in Him; not that the body and blood of the Lord be naturally united to the bread and wine, and locally included in them, but, rather, that bread and wine, according to the institution of the Lord, are highly significant, sacred, and true signs, by which the Lord Himself, through the ministry of the Church, offers and bestows the true communion of His body and blood to believers, not as a perishing food of the belly, but as food and nourishment of the spiritual and eternal life," etc. This is substantially the same theory which was afterwards so ably developed and defended by Calvin.

Æcolampadius continued his incessant labors for the spread and consolidation of the Reformation in Switzerland and Southern Germany. Frequently asked for advice, he gave it with caution and modesty. He disapproved the use of violent means for the propagation of truth. He often attempted, though always in vain, to restrain the boldness and vehemence of Zwingli. At the approach of the catastrophe of the Helvetic Reformation, he warned the people against war. But Zwingli gave him to understand that he did not know the character of the people; that the sword only could decide the matter. But the unfortunate issue of the battle of Cappel, in October, 1531, in which Zwingli fell, with the bravest and most energetic

men of Zurich, proved that his apprehensions were well founded.

With all the friends of the Gospel, he felt deeply this terrible shock to the cause of the Reformation, brought about by unwise and cruel measures against the old Catholic cantons. He was especially pained, also, at the reproaches heaped from all sides upon his departed friend and co-laborer, to whom the disaster was mainly, though unjustly, attributed; and he defended him to whom he had always been true during his life, in a letter to Frecht and Somius, Nov. 8, 1531. He reminded the fault-finders that, from time immemorial, Swiss custom required the ministers to accompany their congregations to the battle-field; that Zwingli was ordered to go by the council, and hoped to the last that it would not come to the effusion of blood; that the Catholic cantons commenced the war upon Zurich (but they had been forced to it by the danger of starvation, in consequence of the prohibition, by the Protestant cantons, of the importation of provisions). He concludes with the remark: "Even if Zwingli erred in this case, he is not, on that account, to be regarded as a bad man. Those were not the worst on whom the tower of Siloah fell. Everybody knows that the judgment commences with the house of God, and that the Father chastises His children whom He loves. If our pride is humbled, and our confidence made to rest on God alone, and not on our arm, we shall derive a rich benefit from this disaster. If the Heavenly Father punishes us, it becomes us humbly to bear

His wrath, according to the words of the prophets; for He will not be angry forever."

The ministers of Zurich unanimously chose *Æcolampadius* as the successor of *Zwingli*. But he felt it his duty to remain in Basel. A few weeks after the death of his friend, he was called to succeed him from the church militant to the church triumphant in heaven. A severe illness arrested his incessant labors, which had long since undermined his sickly frame. He took the communion with his family. He assembled the magistrates and the ministers of Basel round his dying bed, and moved their hearts by pious exhortations. Concerning himself he said: "The charge that I committed the crime of adulterating the truth, does not affect me. By the grace of God, I approach the judgment-seat of Christ with a good conscience. There it will appear that I have not seduced the Church. I leave you behind, as witnesses of this my assurance; and I confirm you as such in these my dying moments." He expired on the morning of the 24th of November, 1531, surrounded by the ten ministers of Basel, who knelt in prayer. Shortly before, he had fervently recited the penitential psalm of David (Ps. 51), and exclaimed: "I shall shortly be with the Lord Jesus. Lord Jesus, help and deliver me!"

The whole city mourned his death. His remains were deposited in the cathedral church. The mouth of slander circulated the rumor that he had committed suicide, or was killed by a member of his family. Even Luther, under the influence of strong

prejudice, was not ashamed to give credence to the lie. But it had the good effect, that it led to a minute description of his last days by two eye-witnesses, his friend Grynæus and his servant Gundelfinger.

He left a wife, Wilibrandis Rosenblatt, whom he had married (1528) after the death of his mother; a son, Eusebius, who died the same year; and two daughters, Alitheia and Irene. The widow married afterwards, successively, two other reformers, his friends Capito and Bucer, of Strasburg, whom she followed to Cambridge, in England. But, in 1564, her body was deposited in the same grave with Œcolampadius. The memory of the first reformed antistes of Basel is still cherished, and the fruits of his pious labors are seen to this day. For there are few cities in Christendom which surpass Basel in wealth, learning, solid morality, active benevolence, and evangelical piety.

HENRY BULLINGER.

1504—1575.

JOHN HENRY BULLINGER, the friend and successor of Zwingli, and one of the most distinguished amongst the reformers of the second order, was born at Bremgarten, in Switzerland, July 18, 1504, one year before John Knox, and five years before John Calvin. His father was the Roman Catholic minister of that town, a man of talent and influence; but, like many priests of that age, of loose moral habits. He became afterwards a convert to Protestantism, and married his concubine, the mother of the reformer, in 1529; but lost his charge after the unfortunate war of Cappel.

Bullinger spent the early part of his youth in the house of his father. Before he had completed his third year, he knew the Lord's Prayer and the Apostles' Creed by heart, and ascended occasionally the pulpit, to recite them. He continued his studies at Emmerich, and in a college at Cologne. Poverty compelled him, like Luther, to earn his support by singing on the streets.

He intended first to become a monk, and to work out the problem of his salvation by ascetic exercises. But he soon gave up the idea, and was

carried away by the Protestant movement, which then began to set all Germany and Switzerland in commotion. The dry scholastic theology rather repelled than attracted his active mind; whilst the classics of Greece and Rome, the writings of Erasmus, of Luther and Melanchthon, and especially the Holy Scriptures, to which these reformers directed his attention, filled him with enthusiasm, and gradually emancipated him from the grasp of Romanism.

In 1522 he returned, as Master of Arts, to Bremgarten; and was soon entrusted with the management of a newly organized school, in the neighboring convent of Cappel. Here he introduced the study of the classics and the Bible, taught the monks with great success, and kept admirable discipline. He became the reformer of the convent, a centre of evangelical influences for the surrounding country, but also the object of opposition and persecution.

At that period, he made the personal acquaintance of Zwingli, spent some time with him at Zurich, and became one of his most intimate friends. In 1528, he accompanied him to the religious conference of Bern, which decided the transition of that influential canton to the ranks of the Reformation. He was now received into the ranks of the reformed ministers of Zurich, and began to preach with much zeal and effect.

Soon afterwards he married Anna Adlischweiler, a former nun of Zurich, whom he had learned to esteem for her simplicity, purity, and piety. The

spirit with which he entered upon this union, may be seen from the interesting letter in which he asked her hand. "The eternal Almighty God," he says, "has, from the beginning, ordained us in Jesus Christ for eternal life. Hence, it is necessary, that all who are baptized in His name should forsake the world, and all that is of the world, and be transformed into the image of God, in which we were created, and which we desire to enjoy forever. This can be done by a virtuous and godly life, which is most fully and faithfully exhibited in the marriage relation, as instituted by God in Paradise, and accompanied with peculiar blessings. In view of the promise of God, to protect and guide the married people in love, unity, and great sweetness of spirit, in all righteousness, and in fulfilment of His precepts; and in view of the fact, that the most devoted friends and servants of God, such as Adam, Enoch, Noah, Abraham, Moses, David, Isaiah, Peter, Philip; and the most pure-hearted daughters, such as Sarah, Rebecca, Ruth, Elizabeth, and Mary, have lived in wedlock; no one dare say that it is not a lovely and holy state, agreeable to the divine will and precept. Experience teaches, also, that infidelity and all sorts of evil thoughts are more readily surmounted in it. For, having resolved upon this step, in obedience to the will of God, and having brought up children to His honor and the benefit of mankind, we may the more freely go to Him in all trials and tribulations, and say to Him: I have done Thy will, I have kept Thy precepts;

therefore help me, according to Thy promise. Here is much exercise of faith and hope. If we prosper, our gratitude is constantly excited, so that we continually cleave to God, and love him with the whole heart. Whether we be happy, or sick and sad, we have always a companion who shares and bears with us fortune and misfortune, until God calls us from this temporal life. You may ask: Where are the married people who live in constant fear of God, and enjoy undisturbed rest and peace? Is not the world full of strife and envy and trouble? But I answer, that the cause of this trouble is not to be sought in the marriage relation, but in the abuse and guilt of men, who seek in it lust and gain, without God. Still, there are many pious persons who commence this relation with God, and happily carry it on in love, discipline, and righteousness."

In the same letter, he gives the following description of himself: "Of my home and parents, I need not write to you, since you know them sufficiently as pious and honorable persons, and since you would not choose me for my relations' sake, but for my own sake. I never received holy orders of any kind: I am perfectly free: I am twenty-three years of age, and owe nobody anything. From childhood, I tried, with the help of God, so to live, that in no place I have brought discredit on myself; and may find a welcome wherever I once was, except where the Gospel of Christ is hated. Moreover, God gave me such health of body, that, within twenty years, I never

had any sickness of any account. It is true, my eye-sight has suffered considerably from study. I must also confess that I am somewhat irritable and passionate. But I soon forgive and forget, and am no lover of controversy. I have no bad company, which might mislead me to intemperance and strife; nor am I in any way engaged to a woman. But I have a father of sixty, a mother of fifty-five, and a brother, who is eight years older than I. The parents have made over to me and my brother all their fortune, amounting to about £1400, on condition that father should have the control over it during his life, and that mother, in case she should survive him, be well taken care of. In our convent, I have an agreeable situation, which you would share with me. [The abbot of the convent, a friend of Zwingli, was himself married.] But I have a more certain treasure, God. He gave me the ability to make an honest livelihood. I know He will never forsake me. Cursed is he who trusts in riches and in man. * * * Consider, also, that I have devoted my life to the Gospel, and shall cheerfully die for the truth, if God should so order it. Therefore, I shall recommend you to God, saying: The God of heaven and earth, the Author of our body and soul, be your shield and comfort, in Christ Jesus our Lord. May He never forsake you, as He never forsook me; and enlighten you with His Spirit, that you may know Him, cleave to Him only, and bear it with patience, if I should be called to suffer death for His Name sake."

The lady cheerfully accepted the offer; but, on account of her mother, who was opposed to it, the wedding was put off two years. It was celebrated in the church of his brother, Aug. 17, 1529, with great simplicity and quietness. For they thought that evangelical ministers, more than any other people, should avoid all show and display on such occasions. They lived in happy union, and were blessed with six sons and five daughters. Bullinger was an exemplary husband and father, and kept his house in most excellent order.

But let us return to his public life. The congregation of his native place elected him their pastor, in May, 1529. But the disturbances caused by the radical and fanatical Anabaptists, and the growing hostility of the Romanists, made his situation very difficult. Soon afterwards, it came to an open war between the Roman Catholic and the Protestant cantons. The battle of Cappel, in Oct. 1531, ended disastrously for the Protestants, and arrested forever the further progress of the Reformation in Switzerland. Zwingli died on the battle-field; and with him the leading men of Zurich. Everywhere the Catholic reaction commenced. Bremgarten was forced to submit to the victor, and to send the evangelical preachers away.

Two weeks after this calamity, Bullinger proceeded to Zurich, with his family. His first sermon in that city was of such a character, that many thought Zwingli was not dead, but had risen again. The reformer himself, shortly before his death, had pointed to him as his ablest successor.

On the 9th of December, 1531, he was elected first minister of the city of Zurich, and antistes, *i. e.* superintendent of the clergy of the canton.

He proved himself to be the man for this crisis. He upheld manfully and successfully the cause of the Reformation, against the machinations and threats of the Romish party. He resisted the attempt of the council to restrict the liberty of preaching, which proceeded from fear of the Catholics, and would have injured the cause of Protestantism still more than the defeat of Cappel. He preached twice a week, and daily for several years. Following the example of Zwingli, he explained entire books of the Bible, in order to familiarize the people with the system of divine truth. Without sacrificing his dignity and independence, he lived in peace with the civil authorities, and revived their confidence and zeal for the Protestant cause. He kept excellent discipline amongst the clergy and the congregations of the city and canton. He is regarded as the model of a reformed antistes; the worthy captain of a long series of distinguished successors.

But his influence extended far beyond Zurich. He was one of the leaders of the Reformed Church, and took an active part in all her general interests. He corresponded with distinguished Protestants of all countries; and wrote a considerable number of polemical, doctrinal, exegetical, and historical works, most of which were condemned as heretical by the papal universities of Paris and Louvain, and their circulation prohibited by the Emperor

Charles V. He had that extraordinary power of labor which we admire in the church fathers and the reformers.

He was drawn into the sacramental controversy, which broke out with new violence after the decease of Zwingli, by repeated attacks of Luther, who represented the premature death of the Swiss reformer as a judgment of God, and called him and his adherents fanatics, heretics, and children of the devil. Bullinger showed much dignity and moderation in the controversy. He held substantially the Zwinglian view, as improved by Calvin. He rejected both consubstantiation and transubstantiation, and all carnal conceptions of the real presence and manducation. On the other hand, he disowned also the purely symbolical view, and maintained that Christ was sacramentally present in the Holy Supper, and was truly received, but only by believers, through the organ of faith. He was willing to assist Bucer in his persevering and well-meant, but unsuccessful, attempts to bring about a union between the Lutherans and the Swiss: he opened a correspondence with Luther, and sent him several of his works. At the same time, he prized conviction higher than union, and hated a false peace. When, therefore, Luther continued to attack, in the most unsparing manner, the memory of the departed Zwingli and Œcolampadius, Bullinger answered by the publication of the works of his revered teacher and predecessor, accompanied by an apology for his person and views. Thus the artificial work of a premature

union, created by Bucer, was destroyed by both parties. It is a mistake to suppose that Luther regretted afterwards his intolerance against the Swiss reformers, which stands in such glaring contrast with his general position in favor of the freedom of the spirit and the rights of conscience. A few weeks before his death, he wrote to Jacob Probst, of Bremen, sarcastically parodying the first psalm: "Blessed is the man that walketh not in the counsel of the Sacramentarians (*i. e.* those who denied *his* view on the real presence), nor standeth in the way of the Zwinglians, nor sitteth in the seat of the Zurichers." (See DE WETTE's ed. of Luther's Briefe, vol. v. p. 778.) These were, we regret to say, the last words uttered by the great reformer, regarding his brethren in Switzerland. The controversy was afterwards renewed by Brentz, the zealous defender of the Lutheran doctrine of the ubiquity of Christ's body, which Bullinger opposed, as an unscriptural innovation.

More successful was the attempt to unite the Zwinglians and the Calvinists. Calvin, who labored earnestly for the union of the Reformed Churches, drew up, with Bullinger, the famous *Consensus Figurinus*, May, 1549, which teaches, in somewhat indefinite terms, a real self-communication of Christ in the Eucharist, but mediated by faith, and consequently confined to believers. With the exception of Berne, this agreement was signed by all the Protestant cantons. The Zurichers thus adopted the Calvinistic view, as far as they could do so con-

sistently with their grateful veneration for the memory of Zwingli.

In the controversy between Calvin and Bolser, concerning the doctrine of the decrees, our reformer strongly asserted the doctrine of free grace and unmerited salvation, but refused to commit himself to the rigorous logical form of Calvin's theory of a double predestination. At a later period, under the influence of his friend and colleague, Peter Martyr, he became a little more decided on that point, as appears from his judgment on the controversy between the reformed Zauchius and the Lutheran Marbath, of Strasburg, concerning the perseverance of saints. Still, the *Consensus Genevensis*, drawn up by Calvin in opposition to Bolser (1552), was never adopted by the Church of Zurich.

The most complete exposition of Bullinger's theology is to be found in the Second Helvetic Confession. He drew it up originally for his private use, in Latin. But, in 1565, the pious Elector Frederic III., of the Palatinate, requested him to compose a confession of faith, which would show the agreement of the Reformed Churches in Germany, France, and Switzerland, and defend their faith against the misrepresentations of their enemies. The reformer sent him this work—with which the prince was so well satisfied, that he published it. It subsequently received, under the name of the Second Helvetic Confession, the formal approbation of the Reformed Churches of Switzerland, France, and Hungary; and is altogether, next to the Heidelberg Catechism, the

most generally received symbol of the Reformed Church. Hagenbach calls it a master-piece of dogmatic skill. It avoids all scholastic subtleties, and excels by moderation, wisdom, and a truly evangelical and practical spirit.

Bullinger exerted also considerable influence on the reformation of England; and forms, like Calvin, Bucer, Fagius, and Peter Martyr, a bond of union between the continental and the English Protestantism. He corresponded with Edward VI., the Duke of Somerset, Archbishop Cranmer, Lady Jane Grey, etc., and assisted the work of reform with his advice.

When, at the accession of "bloody Mary," in 1553, the English Protestants were compelled to flee from persecution, they found a hospitable reception and active sympathy in Zurich, Geneva, Basel, Frankfurt, etc. Bullinger raised collections in their behalf, furnished them with recommendations, accommodated as many as he could in his own house (*e. g.* Humfried, Spenser, Bentham), and had frequently twenty and more such refugees at his table. He subsequently kept up a friendly correspondence with Bishop Jewel, and other distinguished divines under the reign of Elizabeth, who held him in high esteem. Many of these letters, which are of considerable importance in the history of the English Reformation, are still preserved in the public library of Zurich; and a beautiful fac-simile of the Latin correspondence of the unfortunate, but highly accomplished and pious Lady Jane Grey, with Bullinger, was pub-

lished, some years ago, from the manuscripts of that library. Queen Elizabeth sent Bullinger a costly cup, as a mark of gratitude for his kindness to her subjects in the times of persecution. But he refused this, as well as all similar presents. This disinterestedness and elevation above all pecuniary considerations, is one of the noblest traits in the character of the reformers.

He manifested the same kind hospitality to the fugitive Protestants from Italy, especially the members of the congregation of Locarno, which was dissolved by force (1555). He interceded also repeatedly with King Henry II., of France, in behalf of the Huguenots and the persecuted Protestants in Savoy and Piedmont (1557).

The more it is reflected upon, the more is it a matter of surprise, that this liberal friend and patron of the persecuted should have approved the banishment of Anabaptists and Socinians, and the burning of the unfortunate Servetus (1553). This was certainly inconsistent. But it must be remembered that the civil punishment of heretics was, at that time, generally practised, by Protestants as well as Catholics; and that Servetus was abhorred as a blasphemer of the Holy Trinity, and an enemy of society.

Bullinger continued his unwearied activity to the end of his life. He suffered, at last, excruciating pains from the stone, which he bore with the greatest patience. When he felt the approach of death, he assembled the ministers of Zurich round his bed, and told them that he would die in

firm faith in the apostolic doctrine. Then he solemnly repeated the Apostles' Creed, forgave all his enemies, and exhorted the brethren to persevere in the evangelical faith, to walk in a truly apostolic manner, and to maintain and promote the harmony and union of the Church. From the magistrates of the city he took his leave in writing. He breathed his last, Sept. 17, 1575, at sunset, while engaged in prayer, after reciting the Lord's Prayer, the 51st, 16th, and 42d Psalms.

Bullinger is inferior to Luther, Zwingli, and Calvin, as regards commanding genius and reformatory action. His was the gift of John and Apollos, not of Peter and Paul. If Zwingli, under God, founded, or rather revived, the Reformed Church of Zurich, Bullinger most faithfully preserved it, and brought it in living contact with the great Calvinistic movement, and other Churches of the Reformation. Honesty, devotion, perseverance, moderation, and solidity, are the distinguishing traits of his character.

His writings, several of which yet exist only in manuscript, are destitute of that originality, vigor, and brilliancy, which we admire in some of the other reformers; but, for learning, thought, soundness, and piety, they occupy an honorable position in the literature of the sixteenth century. His commentaries and homilies were admired most by his contemporaries, although they are far inferior to those of Calvin. His most valuable work is the Helvetic Confession, already mentioned, and his History of Switzerland, written in the Swiss

dialect; especially the second part, containing an account of the Swiss Reformation, from 1519 to 1532, which was published, by the Historical Society of Zurich, from the original manuscript, in three volumes, 1838-40. The great historian, John von Müller, first directed attention to the value of this work, which must be regarded as one of the most reliable histories for the period of which it treats.

BERTHOLD HALLER.

1492 — 1536.

HALLER is generally designated as the reformer of Bern, the city and canton that seemed last and least disposed to fall in with the Reformation. This honor belongs to him, in truth; for, though he may perhaps not have given the first, nor yet the strongest, impulse to reformatory measures there, yet he exerted the most lasting influence on the movement; and to his calm firmness and unwearied labors must be attributed its final triumph.

Haller was born of poor parents, at Aldingen, near Rottweil, in 1492, about the time Columbus discovered America. As a youth, he attended the then renowned school of Michael Rebellus, in Rottweil. Later, he continued his studies, under the tuition of George Simler, in Pfortzheim, where Melanchthon was one of his fellow-students — with whom, also, he became united in a friendship that lasted as long as life.

In 1510 he went to the University of Cologne, to prepare himself for the holy office, where, after two years' study, he received the degree of Bachelor of Theology. Intending, later, to perfect his studies at Freiburg, he returned, in the first place,

to Rottweil, where he spent some time as teacher, perhaps to replenish his means. Though favorable prospects of usefulness and support opened up before him, at Freiburg, yet his way did not lie in the direction of his thoughts. Rubellus, having received a call to the well-known school at Bern, urged his pupil Haller to accept this call in his place, even though the offer held out but a small pecuniary reward. He went to Bern.

The important consequences which were to flow from this step, no one could suspect, and least of all could Haller have anticipated them. To make him a reformer, almost everything seemed wanting. His education was considerably limited; Greek and Hebrew he did not understand; Latin he did not write classically; and of the tendencies of his theology, we may judge from the fact that he studied at the principal seat of scholasticism. True, he felt the deficiencies in his education, and labored with great diligence towards filling up what was wanting; but his modest, timid, yielding character promised no such heroism of spirit as we are wont to regard as necessary to success in a reformer. Yet the result proved that, by these very peculiarities, he was better fitted than any other man to contend against the tough, proud, political and ecclesiastical conservatism of the Bernese.

His mildness and friendly disposition, his excellent gift of ready, eloquent speech, in connection with a fine, venerable personal appearance, won for him the hearts of the people. He was soon

courted and brought into notice. Dr. Thomas Wytttenbach, since 1515 prebendary at the St. Vincent Minster, invited him to his house and his table. Without doubt, his daily intercourse with this man, by whom, as early as 1505, while teacher in Basel, Zwingli and Leo Juda were deeply impressed, exerted a decided influence upon the spirit and views of Haller, especially in turning his attention towards the Scriptures. Through Myconius, he was also brought into connection with Zwingli, whom he visited, in 1520; and who became to him a friend, teacher, and counsellor in all doubtful questions and difficult circumstances.

As early as 1520, Wytttenbach resigned his place in Bern, and went as pastor to Biel; and, soon after (May 18th), Haller himself was appointed prebendary in his place. He began now to prepare the way for the introduction of evangelical doctrines, after the manner of Luther; to explain the ten commandments on the Lord's day and on festival days, in connection with the Lessons; exposing prevailing errors in regard to faith, good works, and divine worship; and soon, in imitation of Zwingli, he proceeded to explain the Gospel of Matthew in regular order, instead of following the pericopes. His teaching brought forth its legitimate results; and it was not long before he gathered around him a very considerable circle of such as sympathized with the evangelical movement, and these among the well-informed and most respectable portion of the community.

As might have been expected, there arose also a

strong opposition against him, which included even a majority among the rulers, and many of the most influential families. At one time, Haller was near leaving Bern, in discouragement, and following Wyttenbach to Basel; but Zwingli was successful in exhorting him to continue and endure, and persuaded him that his mildness and moderation were the best means of success in Bern.

The first public attack upon the friends of the Gospel occurred in the summer of 1522, when the chapter of Münsingen brought the charge of calumniating the Church and clergy against George Brunner, pastor of Kleinhochstat. Haller was one of the commission appointed to investigate the charges, before which Brunner defended himself triumphantly; and he also wrote out an account of the process. It was not long after when Haller and several others were summoned before the council, charged with having spoken severely against nunnery rules and the vows of nuns, teaching that the whole system was of the devil, but that marriage, on the contrary, was from God. Haller defended himself successfully, and was acquitted. So also the others, Meyer and Wyttenbach. They were charged, however, to confine themselves to their pulpits, and leave the convent alone.

The jealousy of the old party continued watchful. Haller's intimate friend, Anshelm, on account of some remark of his wife, fell under censure, and had his support so far reduced that he was,

in a short time, compelled to leave Bern. Yea, the still increasing old party soon brought it to pass, that Meyer and his opponent, Hans Heim, the Dominican lecturer, whose vehement sermons had awakened two of the evangelical party to public opposition, were ordered to leave the city and country within three days; that preaching in the convent was entirely forbidden, except to Haller alone.

Haller now stood alone, the only witness for the Gospel; and for two years and a half the whole burden of the reformatory work rested upon his shoulders. It was thought his influence could now also be the more easily overcome, as his strongest protector, the magistrate Wattenwyl, had died. It was also proposed to take him by night, and deliver him to the Bishop of Lausanne; the accomplishment of which was defeated only by the vigilance of his friends. About this time also a new enemy arose in the sect of the Anabaptists, which caused him much trouble: he and Wytttenbach, with a view of bringing them into bad repute, were even reported to Zwingli as inclining towards the tenets of these fanatics. But his energy grew under his burdens. The sense of his dangerous, and yet important position, gave him such deliberation and courage as might not have been looked for in him. Through Zwingli, and especially through a commission from Zurich, which presented, in Bern, the reasons why the desired toleration of a single mass could not be acquiesced in, he was so far advanced in his evangelical views, that, at

Christmas, 1525, he ceased to read mass; and, with more earnestness than ever, applied himself to preaching, in which the great council, after considerable shifting, again sustained him afresh, on the 15th of December.

Meantime, all things were tending towards the making of a grand stroke. Bern, according to the demand of the Catholic towns and its own citizens, on the 28th of March, 1526, gave its assent to the discussion to be held at Baden, which was exclusively designed "to restrain the seductive teachings of Zwingli, to turn back the common people from the error, and restore peace among them." One sharp edict followed another, to the same effect; to the execution of which the council bound itself both by writing and by oath.

Agreeably to this, Haller and P. Kunz, of Erlenbach, were ordered to go to Baden, in order to give an account of their faith to the ecclesiastics there; and, in case they were approved, their expenses were to be paid by the town, otherwise not. Nor was the proper escort allowed them for the journey. They went. The discussion had already commenced when they arrived. That Haller, in such circumstances, before such a brilliant assembly of decided opponents, as one under accusation before his judges, should manifest a certain reserve, is easily imagined. Nevertheless, he acquitted himself in a way which astonished even his enemies. It is said that an honest Catholic, during the discussion, exclaimed: "If only this man were for us, as he is against us!" According to indistinct

hints, in the records of Baden, he was not free from personal danger while there; but Providence preserved him.

Having returned to Bern, whither a report had preceded him that he and Kunz had been conquered, he was called upon to say whether he would now again read mass. He gave his negative answer before the Senate, with his reasons for it; but, as critical circumstances seemed at hand, he entreated "that no strife might be engendered on his account: he would rather leave: he was prepared to answer for himself on any point; but the honor of God and His Word forbade him to be reconciled again to the mass: if it were not desired to retain him as a preacher, he would cheerfully resign his office."

This firmness and noble spirit was not without its effect. Again and again he was confirmed in his position and office, and a good support voted him; yet it was required that he regulate himself in accordance with the last mandate. The benefice belonging to the office of canon he lost, it is true; yet he was allowed the enjoyment of it for two years to come. Though the old party were thus apparently triumphant, yet did their efforts fail to bring the fruits of permanent success. This was owing to the fact, that they feared a rupture with the other cantons, and hence took a cautious and conservative course, fearing alike to stand still or go forward. This wavering gave rise to the current proverb: "Bern is neither clear nor cloudy." It is as true in history as it is in God's Word, that

the double-minded shall never see success. He that will attempt to spread himself over good and evil, to keep them together, will find that they are so far and so hopelessly apart, that, instead of uniting them in himself, he will at length drop into hell between them.

Haller now actually preached with new zeal and success; and the word of God gained daily new victories, in such measure, that, in his opinion, as he wrote to Zwingli, December 15th, the decision of the two hundred, should it be arrayed against it, could no more accomplish anything; whereupon Zwingli exhorted him, "as pilot in that region," to renew his activity, and to make decided use of the favorable moment.

Just at the proper time, in the beginning of 1527, Haller received back the earnest preacher, Franz Kolb, who had, years before, left the ungrateful soil of Bern. Amid better prospects, he now cheerfully returned, his head hoary with age, but young in heart, and full of fire, greatly to the joy of Haller. At first, he had neither formal appointment nor regular salary; yet he served faithfully and with success in the cause of reform, asking no other stipend than the liberty of preaching Jesus Christ. Nobly and well did these two champions work together, and in a wonderful manner was each the complement of the other. Haller, though only thirty-five years of age, moved with a measured step, spoke with gravity, and proclaimed the new doctrine with unusual circumspection; while the aged Kolb, with the fire of youth and

the ripe experience of age, seconded all his efforts.

It was not long till, by general agreement, it was determined that a public disputation on the points of difference should be held at Bern. The old party also consented to this, in the hope of being able, by the aid and influence of the country, to obtain a victory in their favor. Haller and his co-laborers exerted themselves to make the disputation a general one, in which theologians from a distance, and especially Zwingli and the learned from Zurich, might be allowed to take part. For this he was the more anxious, as he did not feel himself adequate to the task, if he should have to stand alone.

The time for the contest was fixed for the beginning of the year 1528, and continued during nineteen days. Ten theses were presented and discussed, comprehending all the vital points in controversy between the reformers and the Roman Church; and the result was a complete triumph of evangelical views. The disputation was closed, on the 26th of January, with an address by Haller, in which he reviewed the debate, admonishing the government to sustain the Reformation, and exhorting the clergy to fidelity.

With the introduction of the Reformation in Bern, he felt that the great work of his life was accomplished; yet he saw, also, that what had thus been gained must be confirmed, in order to render the triumph complete and enduring; and, therefore, he did not relax his activity. In the

drawing up of the edict that introduced the Reformation, he performed the principal part. Though sickly, by preaching, visitation, and as a member of the canonical council, now in connection with those learned men who had been called from Zurich to assist him, he continued to carry forward the work. Besides daily preaching, he also delivered theological lectures for the benefit of the ecclesiastics, who were mostly very ignorant.

Haller felt that, with the spiritual, there was necessary also a corresponding civil reformation; and in this direction he labored with prudence and success. In the country congregations, where the reform at first met with scarcely any opposition, there began, after some time, to be some reaction, owing to the fact that all the temporal advantages for which they had hoped, seemed not to result to them from the movement. From this source, in the autumn of 1528, arose difficulties which caused Haller much anxiety. Besides this, the government was not as prompt and efficient as he desired; and his perseverance was the principal means of causing them to go forward in the right direction.

In the beginning of 1530, Haller spent several weeks at Solothurn, where some of the citizens were inclined towards the evangelical movement. He found, however, such stern opposition from the majority, who still adhered to the old faith, that he was able to accomplish but little. What was equally discouraging to him, was the discovery that the majority of those who were disposed to favor reform, were Anabaptist in sentiment. "To what

dangers is not Christianity exposed," he cried, on one occasion, "wherever these furies have crept in!" Hence, he was glad when Bern called him back to its bosom again. Soon after, the movement in Solothurn was entirely suppressed, and the reformed were banished from the town. Haller continued his labors in Bern.

In the time of the unfortunate war of Cappel, where Zwingli fell, Haller labored earnestly to effect a reconciliation; and, on account of his moderation and aversion to war, even got into difficulties with his warlike colleagues, Kolb and Megander. It was a poor comfort to him when the sad result proved that he was right and the others wrong. Haller sought, but without success, to strengthen himself by securing Bullinger for Bern; but, though disappointed in this, Providence continued to befriend the good cause, and the work went successfully forward.

His last great burden of concern was confederated Geneva, so sorely pressed by the Duke of Savoy. He feared a new war, that might prove disastrous alike to the two towns and the evangelical cause; and yet he thought it wrong to forsake Christian brethren in their straits.

In the year 1535, his health began to fail, in a very marked manner. Undue labors which he took upon himself, for the sake of assisting Kolb, who was sick at the time, brought him upon his own sick bed. True, the Senate relieved him by appointing assistants; yet still he labored on, as well as he could. The last time he preached

was on the 17th of January, 1536, three days before the hosts of Bern went out to the succor of Geneva; the deliverance of which he lived to see, and the future significance of which he could anticipate. In the night of February 25, at eleven o'clock, he followed his lately departed friend Kolb through death into the rest of the saints. The Senate and the whole congregation attended his remains to the grave; and Bern mourned the departure of its chief.

Though married since 1529, he had no children. He left no published writings. His modesty induced him to regard what he wrote—which he calls his “rhapsodies”—as unworthy of being read by a learned man like Bullinger. Yet Haller is an instructive example of what great things can be accomplished, with God’s blessing, by one without brilliant gifts, without special acuteness or extensive learning, without an all-conquering energy of will, but only and simply by faithful devotion to his calling, and pious, quiet perseverance in what he knows to be his appointed work.

MARTIN BUCER.

1491 — 1551.

THIS learned, energetic, Melanchthonian reformer, was born at Schlettstadt, on the Ill, a tributary of the Rhine, in Alsace, in the year of our Lord 1491. He was educated, in part, in the schools of his native town, which, about the middle of the fifteenth century, had already attained a considerable degree of excellence. Before he was fifteen years old, he entered the Dominican order, in the place of his birth; and soon afterwards went to Heidelberg, where he gained honors in the study of languages, especially in Greek and Hebrew, and also applied himself with diligence to the study of theology.

Having attended a conference held, April 26th, 1518, between Luther and the scholastic doctors, in the Augustinian cloister, he was deeply impressed by the Biblical truth brought forward, and felt himself strongly inclined towards the evangelical reformatory movement. His change of views did not fail to expose him to the attacks of the enemies of the Reformation. On one occasion, in 1519, he was nigh being stoned by members of his order. Pressed by his enemies, on the recom-

mendation of Franz von Sickingen, he was hospitably received by the Palatine Frederic, who, in the spring of 1521, nominated him as his court chaplain.

Not feeling himself at home in his new position, at the instigation of his friend Hutten he resigned, in 1522, and took charge of Landstuhl. Here he was married to a nun named Elizabeth Pallass. Banished from this place, after a five months' residence, in consequence of a private feud between Sickingen and the Elector of Treves, he was called to Weissenburg; from which place, also, after a sojourn of scarcely six months, war and an impending excommunication forced him to retire.

Réduced to extreme poverty — *summa tenuitate*, as he himself describes it — he went to Strasburg, whither his friend Gilbert had invited him, and where Zell, Capito, and others, had prepared the way for the Reformation. In this place, to which he came poor, he was destined afterwards to achieve his greatest work and reap his richest honors. Zell not only received him kindly, but allowed him also to give Bible lessons in the chapel of St. Lorenzo. The Bishop, however, put a stop to these, but did not succeed in bringing a sentence of excommunication upon him.

Bucer's father, who, since 1508, had been a burgher of Strasburg, interested himself in behalf of his son, as far as his influence extended. He himself wrote to the council, that, if it could be proven that he taught anything contrary to the Scripture, or to charity, or to loyalty, he would be

willing to suffer death; and besought its members, for the love of that God who feeds the birds of the air, to allow him the privilege of earning his livelihood, by imparting to his neighbors the knowledge which he had acquired.

His appeal had the desired effect. He was taken under the protection of the council, as a burgher; and began, in connection with Zell, to preach publicly; and, when the pulpit was refused him, he mounted an old wooden professorial chair. His life, so pure and so entirely devoted to Christ and His Word, successfully refuted the slanders of his enemies. Meanwhile, the council had issued an ordinance (Dec. 1, 1523), that, "in future, nothing but the pure Gospel, and what served to increase their love to God and their neighbors, should be preached to the people;" and, in 1524, when the priests of St. Aurelian refused obedience to the mandate requiring them to become burghers, disregarding the ban of the bishop against the married priest, Bucer was nominated as minister, in accordance with the unanimous request of the congregation.

Bucer was now fairly and freely in the field; and, from this time forth, he applied himself vigorously to the work of the Reformation. In a pamphlet entitled "Reasons from Scripture for the Changes in the Lord's Supper," published in Strasburg, December, 1524, he vindicated the reformation of the church cultus; and, as many people still made pilgrimages to St. Aurelian, with a view of being cured of fevers at the saint's tomb, he preached so

effectually against this superstition, that the Gartners, his parishioners, removed the miracle-working body, and destroyed the grave. On the Sunday *Invocavit*, 1525, whilst Bucer was preaching, the Romish clergy attempted to drown his voice by singing in the choir; and the church was desecrated by a regular hand-to-hand scuffle. In a public discussion with Conrad Treger, the provincial of the Augustine monks, he gained a decided victory over him; and the vanquished chief, when some discoveries were made in his monastery that created strong suspicion in reference to his purity, was compelled to leave Strasburg.

At this time began that unfortunate controversy in reference to the Eucharist, which divided the friends of evangelical truth into two hostile parties. Among those who deeply lamented the sacramental war, and believed that there was no sufficient reason for its continuance, was Bucer; and he labored earnestly to reconcile conflicting elements, and reunite the somewhat estranged friends of the Reformation. The original position of Bucer on this subject was, unquestionably, very much like that of the Swiss Zwinglians. He took pains to define his doctrines. The preachers of Strasburg had laid their views of the sacramental controversy before Luther, whose acquiescence they failed to secure; and who could not conceal his dissatisfaction, but gave vent to his opposition to the divines of Strasburg. Bucer, anxious to reconcile the contending parties, and believing that the controversy hinged on a mere non-essential,

conjured his personal friend Ecolampadius to reply to his opponents in a spirit of kindness. He also wrote to the Lutherans at Nuremburg, Augsburg, and Nordlingen, advising them to exercise moderation; and sent a letter to Luther himself, imploring him, in the event of his writing against the Swiss, not to break the bond of Christian charity, reminding him that the success of their cause depended upon their unity, and that a division could not fail to entail great injury on the Churches in France, the Brabant, Flanders, and Germany. Luther's reply to Caselius, "that the Strasburgers should see to it, lest they put the light of reason in the place of the light of the Spirit, which, if done, would be of the devil;" as well as his expressions, in other letters, "that one of the parties must be from the devil;" showed but too plainly that Bucers's well-meant efforts towards reconciliation would be abortive. Brenz also repudiated the compromises contained in an epistle from Bucer and Capito (1525). When Bucer appended some notes to the fourth part of Luther's "Kirchen-Postille," as it was being translated into Latin, corrective of some passages on the sacramental controversy, which seemed to him objectionable, Luther indulged in the most bitter invectives against Bucer, and declared that "he had fallen over to the hideous monster of the sacramentarian spirit." Bucer afterwards grew in his partiality to the Swiss reformers; and, after the disputation at Bern, occasioned by Haller and Kolb, he may be regarded as an open ally of the Swiss party.

Still influenced by the desire of effecting a reconciliation, Bucer, in 1528, wrote his "Dialogus," in which he reproved the coarse language which Luther employed; and, as a personal interview often effects what mere writing cannot, he proposed an oral conference between the leaders of both parties. So little genializing effect had this "Dialogus" on Luther, that he wrote to his friend Gerbel, "that, in Strasburg, he lived among beasts, vipers, lions, panthers, and was in greater danger than Daniel in the lion's den;" and, at the consultation in Marburg, October 1, 1529, which had been brought about by Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, it is said that when Luther saw Bucer, he pointed his finger at him, and sneeringly exclaimed: "You are a knave!"¹ Here, too, Bucer took sides with the Swiss, and resisted the assertion of Luther, that their doctrine was not in accordance with the Holy Scriptures.

Amid all the darkness of continuing strife, with hope against hope, Bucer still labored for a reconciliation. It must be confessed, however, that, as in all compromises, he so stretched himself between the differences, that his charity was more peaceable than pure. In order to maintain peace, he did not hesitate to sacrifice, in part, his own theological convictions. Overpowered by the authority, or weary of the inflexibility, of Luther, and

¹ By such like treatment it was, no doubt, that Bucer was led to see two sides in Luther—a rough and a smooth. Bucer calls him, in one place, "an angelic guide;" and, later, speaks of him as "the most savage Luther."

seeing no other way of peace, he began to change his tone, and speak as much as possible like Luther on the subject of the Eucharist. There is no doubt, however, that what he covered or held back was more deeply in his soul, and more precious to his faith, than what he spoke; and nothing but a desire for peace was stronger in him than his convictions of the truth of the Swiss doctrine. In a letter to Ambrosius Bauer, December, 1531, he openly acknowledged that, as the Lutherans would not yield anything, and there was no prospect of mutual forbearance, he had accommodated himself as much as possible to their terminology, taking care to eschew any expressions that might teach "a gross local presence of Christ." By this course he lost some of the Swiss confidence; and in vain did he travel into Switzerland, in hope of persuading them to subscribe a formulary of union, in the words of Luther. The Bernese mistrusted him, called him "a time-server," and warned the Zurichers against "the limping Strasburger." He, however, succeeded in persuading the theologians of Zurich to keep back their reply to the last attack of Luther, which was already prepared for publication.

Though Bucer vindicated himself against the charge of apostasy from his original views, he failed to restore full confidence in his agreement with the Swiss, even though the strict Zwinglian view had, since 1534, begun to be modified agreeably to their own convictions. Thus, he was between two fires; and, sharing the fate of that

amiable but misguided class who undertake the mission of compromisers, he was rather burnt himself than successful in giving light to others. Yet it cannot be doubted that his insisting on the fact, that the real point in dispute involved no fundamental difference of doctrine, served to keep both parties from magnifying the diversity of views; thus keeping the breach from widening, as well as promoting the prospects of a future reconciliation. At the same time, in consequence of the personal friendly relations which subsisted between Bucer and the Swiss theologians, Strasburg had long stood a kind of daysman between evangelical Germany and Switzerland, laying its hand upon both.

Bucer's activity and influence was not confined to the countries and circumstances now described. In the name of the ecclesiastical assembly at Strasburg, he delivered an opinion concerning the divorce of Henry VIII., of England, from his first wife. Counselling by him, he frequently supported Archbishop Cranmer; and gave his learning and influence, in every way, to further the cause of the

- Reformation in England.

In 1542, in obedience to a call from Hermann, the Elector of Cologne, a Roman Catholic archbishop, who desired to establish within his electorate a purer system of doctrine and discipline, he went to Cologne. Here, by preaching and lectures, he sought to introduce the Gospel amongst the people; and, by pamphlets, to instruct the better educated and more refined. At the request of the

venerable archbishop, Bucer and Melanchthon prepared a book, which the prelate published (1545), containing his views of a "Christian's reformation, founded on God's Word." It contained prayers and offices for public service; and to Bucer, it is said, belongs the honor of being its principal author.

This book was translated into English, and published in the year 1547; and extensive use was made of it in the formation of the liturgy, or prayer-book, of the Church of England, now in use in the Episcopal churches. "It cannot be doubted," says Berens, in his *History of the Prayer-Book*, "that the book of Hermann was much employed by the commissioners assembled at Windsor, in the compilation of their new form of common prayer. In the great body of their work, indeed, they derived their materials from the early services of their own Church; but, in the occasional offices, it is clear, on examination, that they were indebted to the labors of Melanchthon and Bucer, and, through them, to the older liturgy of Nuremberg, which these reformers were instructed to follow." Again, he says: "The new liturgy was greatly indebted, whenever it deviated from the ancient breviaries and missals, to the progress which had been made on the continent, in the reformation of religious worship." Again: "The occasional offices of our Church, when they vary from the forms previously in use, seem principally to have been derived from the Cologne liturgy, drawn up by Melanchthon and Bucer. In our

baptismal service, the resemblance between the two is particularly striking."

It is known that the first draught of the English liturgy was soon found to be unsatisfactory, containing, as was thought by many, too much of the old leaven, and was at length, in 1550, subjected to a pruning, when important changes were made. "Before the close of the year 1549," says Berens, "Calvin wrote to the Protector Somerset, complaining of several parts of the service, on information which he appears to have received from Bucer." Again: "It is stated by Heylin, and repeated by Collier, that the alterations which were now made in the liturgy, were owing to the remonstrances of Calvin, and the active co-operation of Martyr and Bucer." These two reformers, at the request of Cranmer, drew up a report of the faults which they conceived to exist in the original liturgy.

In the revision and alteration of the liturgy, completed about the close of the year 1551, Bucer was also employed by the commission to whom the work had been assigned. As he did not fully understand the English language, they even went to the pains of having the book translated into Latin; so that, through the medium of that language, they might obtain the advantage of his learning and judgment in the completion of the work assigned them.

We have referred to these facts, because it must ever be regarded as one of the principal honors of Bucer's life, to have had such a share in the pro-

duction of a liturgy of such decided merit; besides, it is the best proof of the great confidence reposed in him, in England, and the value placed upon his worth and labors.

After the Diet of Augsburg, Bucer entered the union conferences with the Catholics. Two had been held (1540), at Hagenau and at Worms, and now (1541), the third at Regensburg, between the Protestants and Catholics. To this last, Bucer was called by the express command of the Emperor, who seems to have had some confidence in his tact as a peace-maker, and was appointed collocutor. The result of the conference was not only abortive, but involved Bucer in a controversy with Dr. Eck, illy calculated to promote the cause of union. Even this did not cure Bucer of his union tendencies. When the emperor was preparing for war, he proposed fresh conferences to the papists. At Regensburg, January, 1546, he again disputed a whole week with Malvender and Cochläus concerning the article of justification. An imperial edict put an end to it. The time to *act* had come.

When the Smalcaldic war was over, Strasburg was called upon to subscribe the Augsburg Interim (1548). Bucer, who had made the dangerous journey to Augsburg, in February, 1548, but returned in safety to Strasburg, allowed neither threats nor promises to induce him to do anything against God and the truth. When, in May, 1548, the emperor ordered the reception of the Interim, Bucer and Fagius spoke and wrote against "the blasphemous

edict;" and the Strasburg preachers, whilst defending themselves against the charge of rebellion, declared their firm determination to sacrifice their property and their blood for the evangelical confession. The council, however, yielded; the Interim was received; the jurisdiction of the bishops was in part restored; and Protestant preaching tolerated in some churches, on condition that nothing should be said against the Interim. Bucer and Fagius having informed the council that they would teach the people that the Interim annihilated the doctrine of Christ, they were deprived of their situations (March 1, 1549), and sent into exile, with some passage money, and a claim on a yearly pension.

Feeling, now, that the displeasure of the Emperor rendered it impossible for him to remain in Germany, Bucer did not accept the invitations of his friends Calvin, Melancthon, Myconius, and others, who tendered him their hospitality, but resolved to go to England, whither he had been called by Archbishop Cranmer, and where, in company with Fagius and Mathis Negelin, he landed April 25, 1549. At Lambeth, Bucer wrote his "*De Regno Christi*," published after his death, which contains the outlines of a church government, arranged according to the principles of the Reformation. The king nominated him Professor of Theology, at Cambridge, with a salary of 240 crowns, and the university conferred on him the degree of Doctor of Divinity.

His labors in England did not extend over quite

two years. His shattered constitution yielded to the return of severe abdominal pains, by which the hour of his dissolution was gradually brought nearer. He departed this life, February 28, 1551, aged sixty years. He was buried with great pomp. Nearly six years after his burial (1557), his body was disinterred, with that of his colleague, Fagius, by the instigation of "bloody Mary," and, like the remains of Zwingli, burned to ashes. Queen Elizabeth, in 1560, in honor of his memory, gathered his ashes, and restored his demolished tomb.

Calvin had a high respect for Bucer, and lamented his death with deep sincerity. "He would have been of much service to England," he writes to Farel, "and I had hoped even better things yet from his writings." To Viret he says: "I feel as if my heart would break, whenever I think of the manifold loss which the Church has suffered in Bucer. May the Lord grant that all the rest whom I might have to weep, may survive me, and so let me die joyfully!"

Bucer was undoubtedly a man of great talent. Benevolence reigned in his heart, and purity characterized his life. The keenness of his perceptive faculties, the polish of his culture, the fluency and eloquence of his speech, the dignity of his personal appearance, as well as the richness of his experience and the affability of his manners, gained him many friends, and admirably qualified him to act as a mediator. Deficient in original productiveness, and too much inclined to subordinate his ecclesiastical convictions to his love of peace, he

cannot be called a reformer, in the strict sense of the word.

His inexhaustible industry was only equalled by his untiring patience. Though he did not succeed in establishing peace between the different Protestant confessions, his labors no doubt modified and restrained in others the natural tendencies to one-sidedness; and thus hindered evil when he did not always effect the desired good.

As an author, he was uncommonly prolific; but there is, unfortunately, no complete edition of his writings. Death interfered with the design of Conrad Hubert and Herbster, of Basel, who intended to publish his works, in ten folio volumes: only one volume, in Latin, was issued (1577). Nor has any good biography of Bucer yet appeared. The Church awaits the time when some one will arise who will bring out, with adequate ability, the story of his eventful and instructive life. Meanwhile, his record is on high.

PHILIP MELANCHTHON.

1497 — 1560.

PHILIP MELANCHTHON, the second leader of the German Reformation, and the "Teacher of Germany," belongs properly to the Lutheran Church. Yet his position in the great religious movement of the sixteenth century is such, that he must also be mentioned amongst the fathers of the German branch of the Reformed Church, which cannot be fully understood and appreciated without making due account of his personal and theological influence on its origin and history. For the Heidelberg Catechism bears, unmistakeably, the marks of the Zwinglian, Calvinistic, and Melanchthonian spirit; and is the result of an organic union of these three forces. Zurich furnished the elements of simplicity and clearness, Geneva the fire and earnestness, and Wittenberg the German *gemüthlichkeit* and depth.

Melanchthon was a native of the Palatinate, which was Lutheranized under his own direction, and in such a form as to pass over naturally, under the favor of circumstances, to a moderately Calvinistic position. When a student at Tübingen he became an intimate friend of Œcolampadius, the reformer of Basel; and, in spite of the sacramental

controversy, he retained his kind feelings towards him to the end.

It is well known that, after the Diet of Augsburg, and still more after the death of Luther, he looked with an eye of growing sympathy and love towards the Reformed Church; and exposed himself, on that account, to the unsparing opposition of the strict Lutheran party. He even altered the Augsburg Confession, especially the tenth article, on the Eucharist, with the view to make it unobjectionable, we cannot say to the Zwinglians, but to the Calvinists. He entered heartily into Bucer's schemes of uniting the evangelical Protestants of Germany and Switzerland, although these efforts proved an entire failure. He was an intimate friend and correspondent of Calvin, ever since he became personally acquainted with him, in 1540; and often expressed to him the wish, to rest his head in his bosom. He educated Zacharias Ursinus, the principal author of the Heidelberg Catechism; furnished him, for his literary journey, with strong recommendations to the German and foreign Protestant Churches; and approved of the position he took in the sacramental controversy at Breslau. On two occasions he received calls to Heidelberg; and, although he declined, he visited the place with Ursinus, in 1557, re-organized the university, and imbued it with his moderate and peaceful spirit, which, in connection with the more energetic Calvinistic influences from abroad, converted the Palatinate, immediately after his death, into the classical soil of the German Reformed Church.

Melanchthon thus represents the bond of union between the Lutheran and the Reformed Confessions; and may, therefore, to some extent, be claimed by both. His name, his spirit, and his influence, have always been in favor of such an union, to this day, and have actually accomplished it in Prussia, Baden, and other German States; while the high church Lutheran party adhere to the example set them by Luther, at the conference at Marburg, where he coldly, though conscientiously, refused Zwingli's hand of brotherhood.

Philip Melanchthon (written Melanchthon for his original name Schwarzerd, *i. e.* black-earth) was born of pious parents, Feb. 16, 1497, fourteen years after Luther, at Bretten, in the Palatinate, now belonging to the Grand Duchy of Baden. He received his liberal education in the schools of Pforzheim, Heidelberg, and Tübingen, partly under the supervision of his relative and kind patron Reuchlin, the distinguished classical scholar, who gave him his Greek name, after the literary fashion of that age, and presented him with a Latin Bible. By the extraordinary precocity of his talent, in connection with great modesty of character, he soon attracted favorable attention, and rose with unexampled rapidity to the highest rank of classical and general scholarship. He wrote the ancient languages better than his native German. At the age of fourteen, he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts; three years later, that of Master of Arts; and, in 1516, the famous Erasmus gave him the testimony: "My

God ! what expectations does Philip Melanchthon excite, who is yet a youth, yea, we may say a mere boy, and has already attained to equal eminence in the Greek and Latin literature ! What acumen in demonstration ! what purity and elegance of style ! what rare learning ! what comprehensive reading ! what tenderness and refinement of his extraordinary genius !”

Melanchthon commenced his public life in the University of Tübingen, as lecturer on ancient literature, editor and commentator of Aristotle and other classics. At the same time, he took a lively interest in theology. He had received a pious training at home, and took great delight in attending worship and reading the lives of saints. But the influence of his fatherly friend Reuchlin, who defended the cause of liberal learning and progress against the obscurantism and stagnation of the monks, and especially the careful study of the Bible, which he carried with him everywhere, opened his eyes to the sad condition of the Church and the priesthood, and disposed him favorably to the reform movement, which commenced, during his residence at Tübingen, with the famous controversy of Luther and Tetzl (1517), and at once attracted the attention of every educated man.

At the recommendation of Reuchlin, the Elector Frederic the Wise, of Saxony, the cautious and faithful patron of Luther, called the promising scholar from Tübingen to the Greek professorship in the University of Wittenberg, which he had founded in 1502, and which had just acquired a

European celebrity by the outbreak of the Reformation.

Melanchthon arrived at Wittenberg the 25th of August, 1518. Although yet a youth of twenty-two years of age, he at once gained the esteem and admiration of his colleagues and hearers. He was small of stature, and, with the exception of a high forehead and fine blue eyes, rather unprepossessing in his outward appearance; also extremely diffident and timid. But his learning was undoubted, and his moral and religious character above suspicion. He, at first, devoted himself to philological pursuits, and did more than any of his cotemporaries, excepting the elder Erasmus, to revive the study of the Greek language and literature, which did such essential service to the cause of Biblical learning, and materially promoted the triumph of the Reformation.

But, in 1519, he graduated as Bachelor of Divinity; and, from that time on, he also delivered theological lectures, especially on exegesis. In the latter period of his life, he devoted himself exclusively to the sacred science. He was the most popular teacher at Wittenberg. His and Luther's fame attracted students from all parts of Christendom. He had, at times, as many as two thousand hearers; and heard, occasionally, as many as eleven languages at his frugal table. Subsequently he received several calls to Heidelberg, and was also invited to France and England; but he preferred remaining in Wittenberg till his death. In 1520, he married the daughter of the burgomaster of

that city. He followed, in this step, more the advice of Luther than his own inclination; but soon afterwards declared, that his wife was worthy of a better husband. His intimate friend and biographer, Camerarius, gives her a most favorable testimony. With her, he had two sons and two daughters, and was a very affectionate father. Occasionally, strangers would find him rocking the cradle with one hand, and holding a book in the other. He was in the habit of repeating the Apostles' Creed, three times every day, in his family. The plain, old-fashioned house in which he lived, is still shown, in a pretty good state of preservation, in the main street of Wittenberg.

Immediately after his arrival at the Saxon university, on the Elbe, he entered into an intimate relation with Luther, and became his most useful and influential co-laborer in the work of reformation. He looked up to his elder colleague with the veneration of a child; and was carried away and controlled (sometimes against his better judgment) by the fiery genius of the Protestant Elijah; while Luther regarded him as his superior in learning and moderation, and was not ashamed to sit humbly at the feet of the modest and diffident youth. He attended not only his first, but several of his exegetical lectures; and published them, without his wish and knowledge, for the benefit of the Church.

The friendship of these two great men is one of the most delightful chapters in the religious drama of the sixteenth century. It rested on mutual

personal esteem and truly German affection, but especially on the consciousness of a providential mission entrusted to their united action. Although somewhat disturbed, at a later period, by slight doctrinal differences and occasional ill-humor, it lasted to the end; and, as they labored together for the same cause, so they now rest under the same vault in the church at Wittenberg, at whose doors Luther had kindled the flame of the reformation by nailing to them the ninety-eight theses against the papal indulgences.

Luther was incomparably the stronger man of the two; and differed from Melanchthon as the wild mountain torrent from the quiet stream of the meadow, or like the rushing tempest from the gentle breeze, or, to use a Scriptural illustration, like the fiery St. Paul from the gentle St. John. Luther himself had a clear consciousness of this difference; and it does great credit to his character, that he did not permit it to interfere with the esteem and admiration of his friend. "I am rough," he says, "boisterous, stormy, and altogether warlike, fighting against innumerable monsters and devils, and cut out for the work of removing stumps and stones, burning thistles and thorns, and clearing the wild forests; but Master Philippus (so he generally calls Melanchthon) comes along softly and gently, sowing and watering with joy, according to the rich gifts which God has bestowed upon him." Luther's writings smell of powder: his words are battles: he overwhelms his opponents with a roaring cannonade of argument, eloquence,

passion, and abuse. But Melanchthon excels in moderation and amiability; and often exercised a happy restraint upon the unmeasured violence of his colleague. The one was emphatically the man for the people, abounding in strong and clear sense, popular eloquence, natural wit, harmless humor, intrepid courage, and straight-forward honesty. The other was a quiet, considerate scholar—a man of order, method, and taste; and gained the literary circles for the cause of the Reformation. He is the principal founder of a Protestant theology. He very properly represented the evangelical cause in all the theological conferences with the Roman Catholic party, at Augsburg, Speier, Worms, Frankfurt, Ratisbon, etc., where Luther's presence would only have increased the heat of controversy, and widened the breach.

Without Luther, the Reformation would never have taken hold of the masses; without Melanchthon, it would never have succeeded amongst the scholars of Germany. The former was unyielding and uncompromising against Romanism and Zwinglianism; the other was always ready for compromise and peace, as far as his honest convictions would allow, and sincerely labored to restore the broken unity of the Church. He was even willing, as his qualified subscription to the Articles of Smalcald shows, to admit a certain supremacy of the Pope (*jure humano*), provided he would tolerate the free preaching of the Gospel. But these two things will never agree.

The one was the strongest, the most heroic and

commanding, the other the most gentle, pious, and conscientious, of the reformers. Melanchthon had less ambition, and felt, more keenly and painfully than any other, the tremendous responsibility of the great religious movement in which he was engaged, and would have made any personal sacrifice, if he could have removed the confusion and divisions attendant upon it. On several occasions, he showed, no doubt, too much timidity and weakness; but his concessions to the enemy, and his disposition to compromise for peace and unity's sake, proceeded always from pure and conscientious motives. His honesty and disinterestedness cannot be questioned.

The two Wittenberg reformers, then, were evidently brought together by the hand of Providence, to supply and complete each other; and, by their united talents and energies, to carry forward the German Reformation, which would have assumed a very different character, if it had been exclusively left in the hands of either of them. However much the humble and unostentatious labors and merits of Melanchthon are overshadowed by the more striking and brilliant deeds of the gigantic Luther, they were, in their own way, quite as useful and indispensable. The "still small voice" often made friends to Protestantism, where the earthquake and thunderstorm produced only terror and convulsion.

After Luther's death, in 1546, Melanchthon lost the strongest outward support of his character; and his natural timidity and irresoluteness ap-

peared more prominently than before. The times, also, became too much agitated, by wars and violent theological controversies, for so mild and peaceful a man. The famous measures of the Interim of Augsburg and of Leipzig, which imposed upon the defeated Protestants certain popish ceremonies, more or less indifferent, and which he was willing to submit to, exposed him to the severest censures of Flacius, his former pupil and *protégé*, and other uncompromising Lutherans, for sacrificing the truth of the Gospel to the cause of a false, hypocritical peace. Still more fierce and unmerciful were the assaults made upon him, by the same bigoted party, for his growing disposition to unite with the Reformed, and his unmistakeable inclination to the Calvinistic view of the Lord's Supper.

Add to these agitations and attacks the growing weakness and sickness of the body, and various domestic bereavements, and we need not wonder that the last years of Melanchthon were years of grief and sorrow, more than of joy and pleasure. He experienced the full measure of that melancholy which cast its shade over the closing scenes of Luther, and many other great and good men. He often prayed to be delivered from "the fury of the theologians," by whom he meant especially the ultra Lutheran fanatics of the stamp of Flacius, Westphal, Hesshus, etc. His personal sufferings, however, did not affect him near as much as his care for the Church. He uttered the noble sentiment: "If my eyes were a fountain of tears, as

rich as the waters of the river Elbe, I could not sufficiently express my sorrow over the divisions and distractions of the Christians. His heart and soul longed and prayed, in unison with the spirit of his divine Master, that all the believers might be perfect in one, even as He is with the Father.

Finally, the hour of his deliverance came. He died peacefully on the 19th of April, 1560, aged sixty-three, in the presence of about twenty friends and relatives, who were greatly edified by his prayers and patience during his last sufferings. When his son-in-law, Professor Peucer, asked him, a few hours before his departure, whether he desired anything, he answered: "Nothing but heaven." His last audible words were a hearty yea and amen to the words of Psalm 31, recited by one of his colleagues: "Into Thine hand I commit my spirit: Thou hast redeemed me, O Lord God of truth."

Melanchthon was emphatically the theologian of the Lutheran Church; and posterity gave him the honorable title, "*Præceptor Germaniæ*." Luther produced thoughts and ideas, and expressed them very clearly, in their original force and freshness, but not in logical, systematic form, and often with too great polemical vehemence, and regardless of their connections and consequences. Melanchthon's mind, though far less vigorous and original, was much better disciplined and proportioned, more calm and moderate.

He is the author of the Augsburg Confession,

the most important and most generally received creed of the Lutheran Church, which he drew up, during the German Diet of 1530, with the utmost care, moderation, and conscientiousness; and which he afterwards improved and altered, especially in the edition of 1540, to make it acceptable to the Reformed. Hence the distinction between the altered and the unaltered Augsburg Confessions. The latter has often been subscribed by German Reformed Churches; also by Calvin, while at Strasburg. He also wrote the Apology of the Augsburg Confession, in opposition to the Romish Refutation; and it likewise gradually assumed symbolical authority in the Lutheran Church. It is one of the best theological tracts of that excited period. He issued the first Protestant system of didactic theology, his *Loci Communes*, which proceeded from his lectures on the Epistle to the Romans. Although very defective in the first editions, and afterwards surpassed by Calvin's Institutes, it is a remarkable book, for its simplicity, clearness, freshness, and thoroughly evangelical tone. Luther thought it worthy of a place in the canon. It passed through more than fifty editions during the lifetime of the author; and was used, long after his death, as a text-book of didactic theology, in the Lutheran universities; as the Sentences of Peter the Lombard had been used, for the same purpose, in the Middle Ages. Besides, we have from Melanchthon a number of Biblical Commentaries; but they are not near as satisfactory as one might expect from his superior classi-

cal attainments, and were far surpassed by those of Calvin and Beza. Yet they served a valuable purpose, in bringing to light the evangelical ideas of the Scriptures in support of the cause of the Reformation.

Melanchthon's theology was not so consistent throughout as that of Calvin, who had a more philosophical mind, and rose at a more advanced period of the Reformation. His changes may be regarded as an evidence of a want of independence and stability; but they prove also the flexible and progressive character of his mind, and his willingness to learn and improve, even in old age, and honestly to confess his errors. They grew, moreover, out of the nature of the Protestant movement, in its first stages, which was not the result of a previous calculation, but a strictly historical process. Like Luther, Melanchthon developed his system before the eyes of the public, keeping pace with the rapid progress of the Reformation itself. The overbearing influence of Luther, too, carried him unconsciously to many extreme positions, which, on calmer reflection, especially after Luther's death, he felt it his duty to modify.

Thus, he gave up the rigid view of an absolute divine predestination of good and evil, which he had expressed in the first edition of his *Loci Theologici* and his Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans (1523), in almost as strong terms as Luther, in his tract on the slavery of the human will, against Erasmus (1525). He adopted, in the later editions of his *Loci*, what has been termed the

synergistic scheme; teaching a co-operation of the divine and human will in the work of conversion and sanctification: the former taking the lead, and throwing all the responsibility of perdition upon the will of the sinner. He also modified the doctrine of justification by faith alone, so as to lay much greater stress upon the necessity for good works, than he or Luther had done before — not, indeed, as a cause, but as an indispensable evidence of justification.

These changes in the articles of election, freedom, and justification, may be regarded in the light of a concession and approach to the Catholic system, without giving up, however, the essentially evangelical basis. On the other hand, in the sacramental controversy, he evidently made an approach to the Reformed Church, as already stated above, by relaxing the Lutheran theory of the real presence of Christ in, with, and under the Holy Communion, and leaning to Calvin's view of a spiritual yet real fruition of Christ's body and blood, by faith. For obvious reasons, he declined, in his old age, to take an active part in the renewed sacramental war between Westphal and Calvin, and to give a final, unmistakeable expression of his views on this mysterious subject. But one of his last acts and testimonies, in the very year of his death, was a protest against the exclusive consubstantiation theory of the bigoted Hesshus, and a virtual endorsement of the position of the Reformed party at Heidelberg, which immediately afterwards triumphed in the Palati-

nate, under the lead of his favorite pupil, Zacharias Ursinus, the Calvinist Casper Olevianus, and the pious Elector Frederic III., and imbued and perpetuated Melancthon's mild, amiable, and peaceful spirit in the Heidelberg Catechism (1563), the doctrinal standard of the German Reformed Church.

WILLIAM FAREL.

1489—1565.

WILLIAM FAREL was born in the year 1489, at the foot of Mount Bayard, in Dauphiny, not far from the ancient town of Gap. His family was of noble descent; and held a sort of baronial pre-eminence among the rude and simple dwellers of the mountain hamlet which carried its name. It had been long distinguished for its piety and attachment to the Church; and was, in fact, a model of devotion, at this time, in the Romish sense, for the whole neighborhood. His immediate parents were perfectly steeped in popish superstition. Never had its reign been more oppressive in that country than it was then; but they bowed their necks unresistingly to the full weight of its yoke. "My father and mother," he tells us himself, "believed everything." Both their faith and obedience were absolutely blind.

His first years were passed in the seclusion of his native village. In his eye was mirrored, from day to day, as he pursued his childish and boyish sports on the banks of the Buzon, the magnificent, ever-varying scenery of the high Alps, till at length the image of it grew, as it were, into his

very soul, not to be parted from it while it should continue to exist. The free mountain air filled his lungs and circled through his veins, till, in the end, it seemed to form an element of his spiritual nature itself.

He was, indeed, constitutionally framed to take a deep and lasting impression from the bold, wild forms with which he found himself thus surrounded, in the outward world, from the beginning. The life which he inherited from his fathers might be said to be itself connatural with the physical relations in the midst of which it rose. His soul naturally was suited to reflect the Alpine heights, and sound responsive to the Alpine winds; to hold communion with the everlasting rocks; to climb beyond the clouds, or ride, if need be, on the rolling terrors of the storm. His character was unfolded, accordingly, in marked and striking features, from the first. His judgment showed itself quick and penetrating; his imagination lively; his temper earnest, free, and ardent. To great vivacity was joined, in his spirit, great simplicity and sincerity, and an indomitable will, that drew back from no danger, and could be worn out by no difficulty. Open, lofty, bold—what he thought he spoke, and as he felt he acted. In the nature of the case, these qualities not unfrequently degenerated into faults. His disposition led him at times to be violent, extravagant, and rash.

Such a nature could not fail to surrender itself, without reserve, to the influences which were brought to bear upon it, from the beginning, in

the sacred name of religion. The superstition of the parents, enforced by constant instruction and example, very early took full possession of the child. He grew up in the very element of papistry; and his earnest, trustful, susceptible spirit might be said to have drunk in the poison at every pore. His head was filled with legends of the saints. His credulity was taught to swallow the most monstrous lies. He threw himself with his whole soul into the mummerly of the Romish forms. Prayers, penances, and pilgrimages, to see a miracle or adore a cross, all attested, in their proper place, the sincerity of his devotion. The recollection of what he had been and what he had done, in this way, often served, in subsequent times, to fill him with grief.

But his soul at the same time thirsted for knowledge. He felt himself irresistibly urged to seek a wider sphere in which to exercise his powers. At a period when but little value was placed on letters, his thoughts were turned powerfully in this direction; and he could not rest until his father, who for a time opposed his wish, at length consented that he should devote himself to study. This he did, as he was accustomed to do all things, with his whole soul. His resolution carried him forward in the midst of the greatest difficulties and discouragements, till he found himself possessed of all that could be learned in his native province. He then directed his eyes towards the University of Paris, whose reputation at this time filled the whole Christian world. His parents

yielded again to his wish; and, in the twenty-first year of his age, accordingly, we find him in the metropolis, with all the opportunities of that great seat of learning fairly at his command.

But Paris was to be for Farel, in the way of light, far more than he had himself anticipated. A gleam of evangelical truth had already begun to shine athwart the night of ages, in that city, giving notice of the glorious day which was soon to burst forth on Europe generally; and it was so ordered that this should now fall upon the path of the ardent student, and turn his thirst for knowledge into an entirely new direction. His own mind, indeed, was one of the first in which the evangelical ray might be said to be fully comprehended.

One of the most remarkable doctors connected with the University of Paris, at that time, was the aged and learned Lefèvre. He was one of those who sought to rescue learning from the thralldom of the schools, and who dared to abandon Aristotle for the study of the Bible. Eloquent, affectionate, and earnest, he engaged and captivated all hearts. Farel soon came within the magic circle of his influence; and the truth which fell from Lefèvre's lips contributed mightily, through God, to the regeneration of his soul. The master and the pupil were, indeed, drawn towards each other with mutual attraction. Both were serious, earnest, devoted to the ordinances of the Church. Both, at the same time, had a heart for something deeper than the mere forms in which the religion of the

age was made mainly to consist. They were drawn together as worshippers of the Virgin and the saints. But their communion became gradually more broad and free; and, although Lefèvre himself continued firm, to the last, in his allegiance to Rome, the measure of his evangelical liberty soon grew to be so great, that Farel could not fail to come under its force, and to feel himself shaken in the very ground of his religious life, by its means. In the end, the pupil became more free than his master.

It was not, however, with a sudden bound that Farel was enabled to clear himself of the dismal territory of superstition. The spiritual revolution was not effected without a long and violent struggle. No man could be more fully wedded to the reigning system of error, than he was when he came to Paris. If any one presumed to speak against the Pope in his presence, he was ready to gnash upon him with his teeth. Satan, as he tells us, had lodged popery so deeply in his heart, that even in the Pope's own heart it could have sunk no deeper. His creed was: "I believe in the cross, in pilgrimages, in images, in vows, in relics. What the priest holds in his hands, shuts up in the box, eats himself, and gives to be eaten by others — *that* is my only true God; and to me there is no true God besides, in heaven or on earth." His fiery spirit spurned all moderation. His whole nature lay engulfed in the mystery of delusion. "Oh, how I shudder at myself and my sins!" we hear him crying afterwards, "when I think on it all; and

how great and wonderful a work it is, that man should ever be delivered from such an abyss!"

But, in the midst of all his punctuality and zeal as a papist, he found no solid peace in his soul. In vain did he seek light and nourishment from the legends of the saints. In vain did he consult doctors, and invoke the aid of philosophy. All failed to satisfy the anxious cravings of his spirit. In despair, he turned to the Bible. But this, to his dismay, was found at variance with the order of things that surrounded him in the Church. A terrible struggle followed, in which Satan seemed to prevail. He persuaded himself that it was not safe for him to listen to the Bible, except under the guidance and interpretation of the Church. Pained and offended with the light, he buried his face again in the bosom of that false mother, and abandoned all right and title to think for himself. The reign of darkness was complete.

In this way, however, God was, in fact, preparing the future reformer for the liberty of the Gospel. Thus thrown upon himself, to work out the great problem of life in his own strength, he was made to feel the full desolation of his nature; and when at length the grace of Jesus Christ rose upon his sight, it was only the more welcome for the long fruitless struggles through which he had previously toiled, and from which, as in a quiet harbor, he was here invited to rest. This deliverance, in due time, he was brought happily to experience. Lefèvre had been gradually rising more and more above the murky atmosphere by which he was

surrounded, till, in the end, the full glory of the Gospel burst upon his view. He began to teach boldly and broadly the great doctrine of justification by faith alone, dismissing all regard to the saints, and exalting Christ and his cross as the alpha and omega of the Christian salvation. Without regard to tradition or philosophy, he expounded the Epistles of Paul in the spirit of the great apostle himself; and, in doing so, shook the university and the Sorbonne to their very centre. To the hearts of many, these instructions were accompanied with extraordinary power. But on no one, probably, did they fall with greater effect than upon young William Farel. He was in the right position, exactly, to understand the necessity and worth of such a free salvation as was now disclosed to his view. With intense interest, he hung upon the words of truth, which he seemed to hear as from the lips of Paul himself; and the clear, distinct statement of the Gospel was sufficient to bear down all doubt with regard to it in his mind. At once he embraced the gift of pardon and eternal life, and became a new man. "Lefèvre," he tells us, "rescued me from the false imagination of human merit, and taught me that all is of *grace*; which I believed as soon as it was spoken." For a time, indeed, he found himself still fettered, to some extent, by the old superstitious habit of his soul. He could not easily throw off, in particular, his long accustomed veneration for the saints. But Christ was fairly seated on the throne of his heart, and the Holy Ghost spoke with power to him from

the Bible. In the end, his deliverance became complete. The whole army of saints, with the Virgin Mother at their head, was routed and forced to retire. Jesus reigned, not only supreme, but alone. Farel stood in the midst of a new world. Idolatry was torn up by the roots from his heart. The authority of Rome was completely and forever prostrated. In the full sense of the word, the truth had made him free.

Farel continued in Paris several years after his conversion, giving lectures in one of the colleges as Master of Arts, when he had taken that degree. During this time, he was conspicuously associated with Lefèvre, and those who had come to think and feel on the subject of religion in the same way, in a steady effort to diffuse the light and grace of the Gospel. A very considerable evangelical interest, the product of that deep force which was now, in different lands, without concert or correspondence, urging forward the glorious life of the Reformation, had been formed, and made itself sensibly felt, in the very heart of the French nation, before either Wittenberg or Zurich had begun to move in the same direction. Auspiciously the morning of the new era dawned on this ancient Christian land, and all seemed to promise the presence of a bright and triumphant day. For a season, it was apprehended that the court itself might be engaged to fall in with the evangelical movement—to which, in fact, the brightest ornament of it had been already won, in the person of the king's sister, Margaret of Valois, Queen of Navarre.

But circumstances, which it does not fall in our way here minutely to explain, soon turned the face of things into a new aspect. The jealousy of the Sorbonne prevailed. The teachers of the new faith found it necessary to withdraw from Paris, Farel among the rest. He was not in priest's orders, it is true; but no man had shown himself more indefatigably active in behalf of the Gospel, among citizens and students, professors and priests; and he was not to be tolerated, of course, when Lefèvre and his friends were required to quit their place. A temporary refuge for the persecuted interest was found at Meaux, under the patronage of Briçonnet, the distinguished bishop of the place, who was himself warmly attached to the evangelical doctrines. It was in the year 1521 that Farel was led, on the invitation of this excellent ecclesiastic, to take shelter under an appointment to labor in connection with the schools and churches in his diocese. There, for a short time, again, the work of the Gospel went forward with great power.

But this stimulated the enemies of the work to new and more active zeal, on the other side. The fanaticism of the mendicant monks, especially, was roused to virulent action. A heavy pressure was brought to bear upon the bishop of Meaux from abroad: he was required to vindicate his own character from suspicion, by purging his diocese of heresy, as taught by others. The shock was more than he had strength to meet. He quailed before it, and yielded to its force: the diocese of Meaux proclaimed itself true once more to Rome,

and the friends of the Reformation were ordered forth, to find harbor, as they best could, in some different quarter.

Meanwhile, on all sides, the elements of wrath were combining, and gathering into a dark cloud, which threatened to descend in a storm of persecution on all who were suspected of being favorable to the new doctrines. In a short time, blood began to flow; and, in different districts, the truth of the Gospel was sealed, as it came to be still more plentifully afterwards, by the baptism of fire. Christ's faithful witnesses in France were brought to stand in jeopardy every day; and could maintain their ground, at most points, only with the continual peril of their lives.

We find Farel next actively employed as the open friend of the Reformation, in his native province of Dauphiny, where the good work of the Lord had already begun, and made some progress. His three brothers were won over to Christ; and had courage, when it became necessary, to give up, along with himself, fortune, country, and friends, for His service. Most industriously he endeavored to extend the knowledge of the truth among his relatives and others, in the city of Gap and its vicinity; till, at length, he was summoned before the magistrates, and, not without rough handling, expelled from the place, as a "firebrand of discord." This, however, did not reduce him to silence. It only threw him out upon the open plains, and among the villages and secluded hamlets, to preach, among the simple and the poor,

from house to house, the free salvation of Christ. This exposed him to much privation and no small danger. He was obliged to betake himself, at times, to the forests and wild ravines among the mountains for shelter.

Switzerland, at this time, offered a free and inviting asylum to the persecuted heretics of France. Here the Reformation had already secured considerable ground, through the labors of Zwingli and others; and was, at the same time, steadily making progress. Opinion was comparatively free, and foreigners were encouraged to expect a kind reception. Among others, Farel, finding himself so much circumscribed at home, and hoping to be benefited himself by the society of the Swiss reformers, as well as to find, in connection with them, a wider field of usefulness, was induced to turn in this direction. Making his escape from France with difficulty, by obscure and toilsome ways, he entered Switzerland early in the year 1524. Here he was destined to spend his days, and to take a leading part in the work of the Gospel. God had raised him up and educated him, and cast him out of his native land, that he might at length occupy, with proper effect, the broad field in which he was now called to labor.

He came to Basel. There was already in that city a French church, composed of refugees, who had fled there to escape the scaffold. These had made the name of Farel familiar among the friends of the Reformation in the place. He was welcomed, accordingly, as a man who stood

ready to face all dangers for the sake of Christ. Here he met Œcolampadius. No two men could well be constitutionally less alike. They were drawn together, however, by a powerful inward attraction, almost as soon as they met, and their friendship was early complete. Œcolampadius took him into his house, and made him one of his family. The earnestness and courage of Farel seemed to impart new vigor to his own character, and to inspire his gentle nature with fresh energy and confidence, in the midst of the difficulties with which he was surrounded. The other evangelical preachers in Basel also were greatly taken with his learning and piety and bold open spirit; and found themselves confirmed and fortified in their faith by his presence.

Basel had not yet declared in favor of the Reformation, though it had taken a strong hold on the public mind. The influence of Œcolampadius and his associates was gathering weight from day to day, especially with the magistrates and the mass of the common people; though the learned doctors, and members of the university generally, were bitter in their opposition. A public disputation had already been held, in which the reformers openly vindicated the marriage of priests, before a numerous assembly. Farel felt encouraged to challenge another discussion, that might go at once to the ground of the difference between the two parties; and modestly solicited permission from the university to defend publicly certain theses, which he had prepared for this purpose.

This request the university refused. He then applied to the council of the city, and his application was granted. The university sought to prevent the students and priests from attending the disputation; but the council interposed again, not only allowing but requiring all such persons to be present. The occasion was one of vast popular interest. Farel acquitted himself with great ability, as well as great boldness and courage; and the impression made upon the people in favor of the cause he maintained, was deep and lasting. With all his fire, he was a man of solid learning; and his words were full of weight, at the same time that they were distinguished for their sparkling vivacity. Œcolampadius, Pelican, and other reformers in Basel, were led to think more highly of him than before. "He is a match for the whole Sorbonne together," wrote Œcolampadius to Luther.

There was one man, however, at Basel, of very considerable eminence, with whom Farel stood on less favorable terms; although he was considered generally to have no great regard for the Pope. This was Erasmus, the celebrated scholar of Rotterdam. He had made Basel his home, on account of the literary advantages of the place, and the attractions it possessed generally; and Basel, the Athens of Switzerland, felt herself honored and flattered by his presence. There he sat, as the monarch of letters, surrounded with his court of learned men, the object of veneration to scholars throughout Europe. Zwingli, in early life, had

made a pilgrimage to Basel expressly to see him, and came away completely charmed with his person. "There is nothing I am so proud of," he said, on returning to his home, "as of having seen Erasmus." A very considerable intimacy had subsisted, also, between him and Ecolampadius. Lately, however, he had grown cool towards the reformers generally, having no heart to sympathize with the deep earnestness of their religious spirit, and resenting the freedom with which he had been handled by two or three of them through the press. In these circumstances, Farel was not a man to suit his fastidious taste; and Erasmus of Rotterdam was just as little suited to find favor in the eyes of Farel. They felt, as it were, instinctively, each of them, that they belonged to totally different spheres, between which there could be no cordial union. Farel, with that keen-sighted vision which belonged to him, looked into the very soul of Erasmus, and had no power to disguise the contempt he felt for his character. With characteristic recklessness, he spoke of him as a man who had not courage to own the truth which he knew. The wife of Froben, the printer, he said, knew more of theology than Erasmus — no common wife, by the way, of no common printer. Still worse, he was charged with stigmatizing the learned man, under the name of *Balaam*, as one who had been hired by the Pope to curse God's people. Erasmus was greatly nettled, and sought a personal explanation — from which, however, he derived but little satisfaction. It was a serious

thing, however, to be prosecuted by the wounded pride of such a man, at Basel. Erasmus took pains to place the character of Farel, and of the French refugees generally, in the most unfavorable light; and such was his influence, in the end, that the bold and zealous servant of Christ, after the lapse of a few months, received an order from the magistrates to quit the city. Basel, the asylum of persecuted exiles, the metropolis of humanity and polite learning, at the bidding of the prince of scholars, thrust Christ himself for a moment from her bosom, in the person of his outcast martyr. "Such is our hospitality!" exclaimed *Æcolampadius*: "we are a true Sodom!"

This is one of the most instructive passages in the somewhat enigmatical life of Erasmus. How the spiritual poverty of the philosopher stands forth to view, as contrasted here with the inward grandeur of the reformer. It is such a commentary on the nakedness of man, in his best estate, as we have when we listen to a Pliny or a Trajan, in correspondence on the style of persecution to be exercised towards the Christians in Bithynia; or look upon the cold features of a Marcus Antonius, in the reflected glares of those fierce fires which burned by his order for such a man as Polycarp, and for the noble company of martyrs at Lyons and Vienne. Erasmus was full of self, as Farel was full of Christ. The smooth-going, time-serving spirit of the one, was continually affronted by the straight-forward, lion-hearted "simplicity and godly sincerity" of the other. It was the spirit of

the Reformation in full collision with the pride and self-complacency of the world; and all the littleness of Erasmus, as the heartless slave of his own narrow person, was perhaps never more broadly revealed than in the case of this concussion.

Farel only gained new strength by his trials, and was prepared more and more to endure hardness, as a good soldier of Jesus Christ. He visited Strasburg; and strengthened himself there by entering into bonds of friendship with Bucer, Capito, and Hedio, as he had previously made himself acquainted with Zwingli and Myconius, by a visit to Zurich. Soon after, we find him girding himself for active service again, in a new field. Montbeliard, through the favorable disposition of its prince, Duke Ulric of Würtemberg, was thrown open for the reception of the Gospel; and Farel was considered the proper man to carry it thither. The whole case constituted a clear call for him to devote himself, in form, to the work of the ministry. Thus far, he had acted only as a layman, in the Church, though in an unusually prominent and energetic way. It was now necessary that he should act with higher authority in the house of God. But how was he to be ordained? Extraordinary emergencies justify extraordinary measures. So it was considered in this case. Œcolampadius, in the retirement of his own house, to which Farel had before secretly repaired for counsel and direction, dared to ordain him himself, conferring upon him, in the name of the Lord, full authority to preach the Gospel. He exhorted

him, at the same time, to study moderation, and to blend the dove with the lion in his ministry. Thus furnished, the son of thunder took his departure for Montbeliard.

His ministry here was attended with great power; and the influence of it extended far beyond, into neighboring districts of France. He seems to have been, in fact, the soul of a very extensive movement which was going forward, in favor of the Reformation, in all that region. He became the organ of a powerful agency, established at Basel, for the dissemination of the Gospel in France. Books and tracts were provided for this object, in plentiful supply; especially copies of the New Testament, as translated by Lefèvre into the French tongue, were multiplied as fast as possible. Several presses were kept actively employed, at Basel, in the service of this work, producing tracts and books for France. Farel presided, as a sort of general agent, over the whole movement. Colporteurs were employed to carry them and offer them at low prices, at every door. The effects wrought by this agency were immense.

It was not long, however, before a powerful opposition began to show itself to the labors of the reformer, in Montbeliard itself. The popish ecclesiastics were roused. A dignitary of the order of the Franciscans rose in the church while he was preaching, charged him with falsehood, and denounced him as a heretic. A great uproar followed. In the end, the Franciscan was required by the duke to retract his charges, in the most

public manner. This shock seemed to inspire Farel with new zeal. He became more bold and fearless than ever in unmasking the wickedness of the priests, and dragging into light the abominations they were endeavoring to uphold. Ecclampadius and other friends sought by letters to restrain him ; but, from this time, their affectionate counsels appear to have been, in a great measure, without effect. The impetuosity of his nature triumphed over all obstacles cast in its way, and bore him irresistibly forward in its own direction. He felt, perhaps, that his character indicated a peculiar commission, called for by the circumstances of the age, and not to be interpreted in the light of common prudence, by men of a different temperament from himself. There is abundance of evidence, at all events, that his excesses were not the mere sallies of unreflecting passion. There was calculation in his extravagance, and method in his madness.

Such an explosion took place at Montbeliard, on the festival of St. Anthony, towards the end of February, 1525, when, in one of his walks, he met, on the bridge of the small river that runs through the place, a solemn procession, reciting prayers to the saint, and headed by two priests, bearing his image. The gross idolatry moved his soul to pious indignation. He stepped forward, snatched the image out of the priest's hands, and threw it over the bridge into the stream. The excitement which followed was, of course, very great. It is only strange that Farel did not fall a

victim to the fury of it on the spot. As it was, he was obliged to conceal himself, and soon afterwards to quit the city.

After a short visit to Basel, he procured an appointment from the authorities of Bern to preach the Gospel in Aelen, a district extending from the Alps to the vineyards of the Rhone, at that time under the government of this State. Here he labored with his usual ardor, combatting superstition in every direction, and making himself a terror to the priests and monks, far and wide. He was engaged, at the same time, in an extensive correspondence on the leading theological interests of the day.

In the year 1528, a famous conference was held at Bern, between the reformed and popish clergy, which resulted in a decision of the magistrates to reform the church throughout their territory. Great confusion, of course, followed, when this order began to be carried into effect. Farel found himself, however, completely at home, in the midst of the commotion. His whole soul abhorred the idolatries of Rome, with an energy proportionate to the power they had once exercised over his own life; and now that the way was opened, he went forth exultingly to tear up the system, root and branch, wherever it came in his way. His action was in the style of a violent missionary crusade. Images, altars, crosses fell, in every direction, without mercy, demolished by the zeal of the restless iconoclast. No vestige of idolatry could find toleration in his eyes. All this, however, was no

holiday work, in the midst of an ignorant and fanatical people, whose whole religion had been so long wrapped up in these sacred objects. To be rudely interrupted while preaching in the pulpit was, for him, a comparatively small thing. But matters were carried a great deal farther. In one case, at least, the pulpit was fairly thrown down; and more than once he was severely flogged by parties both of men and women. A strange way this of subduing a refractory district to Protestant freedom. Only the indefatigable courage of such a man as Farel could have carried the work successfully through. But he *did* carry it through. The priests finally yielded; the people became quiet; and Aelen was Protestantized to the full extent of the order which had been published by the magistracy of Bern.

But Farel did not limit his activity, in this case, to the district of Aelen. He made excursions, in the same work, into neighboring districts. In the end, we find him embarked in a sort of general agency, under the patronage of the government of Bern, for the overthrow of idolatry in the whole surrounding region. Wherever he went, his method of working was still in the same stormy style. There was no parlying, no preliminary negotiation, no diplomatic show of compromise or courtesy. Formality and etiquette were given to the winds. He would interrupt the priests when they were preaching (as he was often served himself), and refute or expose them on the spot. Whenever he could do it, he would ascend the pulpit himself,

often in the very midst of some religious ceremony, and begin to harangue the people. It was not uncommon then for such a noise to be made, by hisses, cries, and screams, as made it impossible for him to be heard at all. But his plan, in such cases, was to go steadily forward with his discourse, as though he had no perception of the disturbance whatever, till at length it fairly wore itself out with its own bootless effort. Then his eloquence rose, and rolled like a mountain torrent down upon the congregation. When allowed to proceed thus far, he seldom failed to make an impression on the mass of his hearers. But, in many cases, the struggle between preacher and people came to a less pleasant issue. Screams and hisses, having so little effect, were followed up with rougher measures. The uncompromising reformer was laid hold of, dragged from the pulpit, beaten, kicked, and maltreated in all manner of ways. In these assaults, women and children took an active part. The children sung, hissed, shouted, and screamed; the women tore his hair, beat him and scratched him, like so many furies. More than once, he came near losing his life in such affrays. In one case, he returned to his home vomiting blood, and completely shorn of his strength. In another case, his blood stained the walls of the cathedral; and remained there for years, a monument of the harsh treatment to which he had been subjected.

In the midst of all this tempestuous action, he was always full of joy and hope. His spirit gathered strength from opposition, and drew fresh

courage from defeat itself. His strange, wild ministry, moreover, was everywhere crowned with success, as became more evident, in the course of time, by its results. Behind the earthquake, fire, and storm, had been heard in many hearts the "still small voice" of the Spirit, convincing of sin, and leading the weary and heavy-laden to Christ. Some of his most bigoted and virulent opposers he had the satisfaction of embracing, afterwards, as his brethren and helpers in the work of the Gospel.

These operations could not fail, of course, to spread his fame on all sides. To the papists, no name in Switzerland was so terrible as that of Farel. He was hated and feared, as the scourge of priests and monks. To gather into one single epithet as much of odium and reproach as could be thus embodied, he was styled familiarly *Der Luther*. This was equivalent to *heretic, apostate, fiend*, all at a single blow.

In the year 1531, Farel and another minister were appointed, by the synod of Bern, a deputation to visit the Waldenses, in the valleys of Piedmont, and to confer with them on the subject of the Reformation. This mission he fulfilled in a very satisfactory way.

On his way back, he made his first attempt on Geneva—a point to which his attention had been particularly directed before, by Zwingli. The doctrines of the Reformation had already gained some ground in the place, and efforts were made in secret for their further propagation; but the reigning tone of thought was all the other way. The senate was

opposed to change; the clergy were more than commonly bigoted and corrupt; and the people were involved in gross darkness. The presence of such a man as Farel, the "priest-scourge," could not be quietly endured. A malignant, diabolical plot was entered into, on the part of the priesthood, to put him out of the way. This he was enabled, by the merciful providence of God, happily to escape; but it was made plain that he could not labor with safety, at this time, in Geneva, and, by stealth, his friends contrived to send him away as soon as possible from the place.

In less than two years, however, we find him in Geneva again. He gained regular admission into the city for himself and a youthful colleague, named Viret, under the covert of an embassy which was sent from Bern to make complaint on the subject of some public grievance. His movements now were characterized by great prudence and circumspection, and showed nothing whatever of that wild impetuosity which he had displayed previously in other places. Through the influence of the embassy from Bern, he procured an order from the senate for his personal protection, while he went forward cautiously preaching the evangelical doctrines, at his own lodgings, or from house to house. Next he succeeded in obtaining a requisition, that the clergy should preach nothing except what they might be able to prove from the Scriptures; which was a blow struck at the very root of the reigning system. The priests were filled with spite. A doctor of the Sorbonne was

called in from a distance, expressly to counteract his influence. Farel charged *him* with teaching unscriptural doctrine, and challenged him to meet the accusation before the senate. A conference accordingly was held, in which Farel conducted himself with great calmness and self-possession, and, in the end, completely overpowered the Dominican doctor. Judgment went against him, by general consent; and he was ordered to retract his errors publicly in the church. Things had now reached a crisis. The government knew not how to act, being distracted by different views within, and opposing influences from abroad. But Farel had already judged for himself what the case required. Boldly he began to grapple with the established superstition, in season and out of season, in his old style. The magistrates were alarmed, and bade him be still. But it was too late: they might as well have tried to stop an avalanche or chain the whirlwind. The people had begun to feel the mastery of his giant spirit. Soon he was thundering in the pulpit of the great cathedral itself. The discovery of a plot to murder the reformed and change the government, turned the popular feeling powerfully against the clergy. The case became worse still, when the Pope issued a decree of excommunication against the city. This operated as a death-blow to the authority of Rome. The council were persuaded, at length, to call a meeting of the people. Farel addressed them in strains of solemn, overwhelming eloquence. In the end, it was resolved, by an

almost unanimous vote, that Geneva should go with the Reformation. This took place on the 10th of August, 1535. The edict establishing and proclaiming the great revolution, in form, was issued on the twenty-seventh day of the same month.

Farel won Geneva for the Gospel; and he was instrumental also in winning for the place the ministry of the man whose name became afterwards its highest ornament. This was JOHN CALVIN, the youthful theologian, a refugee from France, whose great work, *The Institutes of the Christian Religion*, with its masterly address to the French king, had, a short time before, made its appearance, and was fast drawing upon its author the eyes of all Europe. No man knew better than Farel himself, that talents and resources of a different order from his own were required to carry forward and complete the work he had now happily begun. His first care was to secure efficient help, worthy of the trying but vastly important field he was called to occupy. At this juncture, he was apprised that Calvin had stopped in the place; and at once it seemed to be revealed to him, by the Spirit, that God had here brought within his reach the very man who was needed for this service. The stranger was on his way to Strasburg, where he hoped to be at liberty to pursue his studies, and make himself useful; and intended to tarry in Geneva but a single night. Farel called upon him, and urged him to enter the field which was here calling for work. Calvin

excused himself, on various grounds. On this, Farel, in the spirit of one of the ancient prophets, said to him, with awful solemnity: "Now, in the name of Almighty God, do I declare to you, since you make your studies a pretext, that, unless you address yourself with us to this work, the curse of God will rest upon you, for seeking your own honor rather than that of Christ." Calvin was overpowered. The words of Farel were to him like the voice that thundered through the heart of Saul, on his way to Damascus. It seemed to him, as he himself says, long afterwards, as if God had stretched out His hand from the heavens, to arrest him, and fix him in that place. He gave himself to Geneva.

Farel and Calvin went forward vigorously with their work. But they soon found themselves in great difficulty. Geneva was, in a religious view, still unformed and chaotic. The elements of confusion were everywhere at work. A powerful opposition organized itself against the strenuous reformers. They were brought into collision with the government. In the course of a year, matters had come to such a point, that an order was issued requiring them to leave the city. It was the age of earthquakes and storms.

Calvin, in due time, moved by the tears of Geneva, came back. Farel had bound himself to another field, to encounter new storms, as the hardy pioneer of Christ. Immediately after his expulsion from Geneva, he was waited upon, at Basel, by a delegation from Neufchatel, and ear-

nestly solicited to transfer his labors to that place. This call, after full consideration, he had accepted, and Geneva could not draw him back again to her bosom. He continued, however, always to take the most lively interest in her welfare; and it was by his earnest intercession, mainly, that Calvin was induced to give himself a second time to the afflicted and repentant city.

Neufchatel was no bed of roses for Farel, more than the other fields to which his labors thus far had been given. His zeal for holy living soon gave rise to deep and wide-spread disaffection. A case of discipline proved the signal for this feeling to explode in a violent popular commotion. A powerful party called loudly for his dismissal. For a time, the city was in a hurricane of strife. In the midst of it all, however, Farel stood firm as a rock. The plague burst out among the people just at this time. This helped to show him in his true character. Day after day, he was at the bedside of the sick and dying, making no distinction between enemies and friends, unmindful altogether of himself, and earnestly intent only on administering to the wants of his fellow-men. This opened the eyes of many, and turned their hearts to kindness and respect. Other influences also came in to moderate the wrath of his enemies; and the intrepid pastor, in the course of a few months, remained in undisputed, quiet possession of the field.

His heart still sighed, however, for new conquests; and he was led, by the advice of his friend

Calvin, in the autumn of 1542, to make a descent on Metz, where a feeble evangelical interest was struggling to rise above the billows of persecution. His first sermon was in the church-yard of the Dominicans. The bells were all set ringing, to drown his voice; but his trumpet tongue rang, in clear, piercing notes, above the discord, and forced the people to hear. The next day, he addressed an audience of three thousand people. All Metz was astounded. He was called before the council, and asked by what authority he preached. "By the authority of Christ," was his bold reply, "and at the desire of his people." Great opposition and excitement prevailed. Farel had his home once more in the bellowing, flashing storm. To complete the scene, the terrors of the plague again crossed his path; and he became, as before, an angel of mercy to the abodes of the sick, in spite of the prohibitions which were thrown in his way. As usual, his preaching was productive of fruit. He found it prudent, however, after some time, to retire to Gorze, in the neighborhood, where he could carry forward his evangelical work with more safety. It was, after all, however, a rough business still. On one occasion, as a Franciscan friar was declaiming from the pulpit on the perpetual virginity of Mary, Farel stood up and gave him the lie, in no measured terms. Immediately, as in old times, the women pounced upon him like wild-cats, dragged him about by his hair, pulled his beard, and might have made an end of him, if he had not been seasonably rescued from their

hands. In the end, he narrowly escaped with his life from a terrible slaughter inflicted on the Protestants in this place by the bloody Duke of Guise.

On the close of this missionary campaign, which lasted a whole year, he returned to Neufchatel, which he still considered his proper home. Here he was still tried with various difficulties, which often put his courage severely to the test. But his authority grew with his age; and he held his position firm, in the face of all enemies, till the close of his life.

At the same time, his relations to the Church at large involved him continually in new and weighty cares. No man was less capable of confining his thoughts to a single city or district. The troubles of Geneva were felt by him almost as much as the troubles of Neufchatel. His soul wept and bled with the martyrs of France, as though he had been one of their number, as indeed he was himself. Every controversy that divided and distracted the friends of truth, as especially the great sacramentarian strife, came home to him as a personal wound. All questions of discipline or doctrine that agitated the age, were allowed to claim his attention. He lived in active correspondence with the other reformers, at every point. Beyond all his contemporaries, perhaps, he exerted himself at home and abroad in favor of education, establishing and encouraging schools, and promoting with all his power a proper regard to intellectual culture. A volume would be necessary to detail, even in a general way, the manifold forms of action by

which his "care of the churches," especially in the latter part of his life, made itself known.

At the same time, the spirit of an evangelist continued to animate him to the last. He was always ready to go forth personally in missionary tours, wherever they promised to advance the glory of Christ, without regard to sacrifice or cost. When quite an old man, we find him still employed in these evangelical campaigns, with all the fire, apparently, of his earlier years. His zeal for the propagation of the Gospel was known far and near; and he was often invited to visit different points where his services were needed in this way. One of his expeditions was in favor of the Waldenses, in whose circumstances he never ceased to take the most lively interest. But the richest treat for him, in this way, must have been the tour he made, when he was about seventy years old, to his native Dauphiny. Hundreds of congregations in France, having renounced the mass, were at this time thirsting for the word of life; and now Farel was invited, by a special message, to visit that same Gap which, in the beginning of his labors, had expelled him from her bosom as a "firebrand of discord." There were still lions and dragons to be faced, in obeying such a call. But to Farel it was as a voice from God Himself, and lions and dragons had no power to keep him back. He stood once more on the soil that gave him birth, by the streams and before the cloud-kissing summits that enshrined the spirit of his boyish years; and the full eloquence of his soul was

permitted to pour itself forth for Christ, without restraint. The magistrates threatened, but the people heard. Immense audiences hung upon his lips from day to day, and "the word of God had free course and was glorified." Refreshing to the soul of such an one as Farel, the aged, must have been that missionary visit to the home of his fathers.

At the age of sixty-nine, Farel married. The step was generally condemned. It was intended, perhaps, to be a bold protest against the Romish celibacy, as Luther wished his conduct to be taken, when he set public opinion at defiance in the same way. He had a son by this marriage, who died, however, a few years after the death of his father.

In the year 1564, Calvin wrote to his friend that he was near the hour of his dissolution, and bade him an affectionate farewell. Farel immediately set out, on foot, to pay him his last visit. "O that I could die in his stead!" he exclaimed, in speaking of him, on his return.

He was left behind, in this case, only for a short period. His own dissolution took place the following year. A visit to Metz, where he preached with great power, resulted in sickness, which soon showed itself to be "unto death." His submission, patience, and trust in God, were worthy of his profession and previous life. His sick chamber was full of light and love. With patriarchal solemnity, he exhorted and counselled magistrates and ministers, and all who came into his presence, according to their several stations. His soul went forward to

meet the king of terrors with all the courage and animation it ever displayed in the service of Christ. Rather, death was shorn of his terrors altogether, and had become to him only as the voice of the bridegroom, by which he was welcomed into heavenly joys. He slept in Jesus, September 13th, 1565, in the seventy-seventh year of his age.

Such was William Farel, the thundering "priest-scourge"—child of the whirlwind and fellow to the Alpine storms: one of the most remarkable men, certainly, produced by the age of the Reformation. It is not easy to estimate properly the moral character of his zeal. Tried by the common standard, as found to hold in quiet and peaceful times, it might seem to have been of an absolutely fanatical complexion. It showed no respect to times, or persons, or places. It gave all courtesy and calculation to the winds. It grappled with all that came in its way, under the form of opposition, with an earnestness which seemed like wild, tempestuous instinct, more than the result of clear thought and sober reflection. In ordinary times, and with the great body of men at any time, such violence of spirit *would* deserve to be condemned at once as extravagant and fanatical. But the period of the Reformation was no common time; and the men who were raised up, created by the wants of the age itself, to preside over the mighty moral revolution, were anything but common men. It will not do to try the free workings of a Luther's soul rigidly by the formulas of our common everyday life, just as it will not do to subject the genius

of a Shakspeare to the dissecting knife of a cold and merely speculative criticism. And so are we bound to reverence the still wilder freedom of William Farel. We may find it impossible to approve or justify many things that appear in his life. His brother reformers did so at the time, and gave him abundance of wholesome advice on the subject of moderation, which in general seems to have answered very little purpose. Still, a great deal must be allowed to the wants of the time and the temperament of the man. In the circumstances of the case, this was the most natural, and probably the most effective, form in which the life of the Reformation could have developed itself through his person. There was no affectation in his character. It was all the free evolution of his own nature, from its innermost ground outwards, under the action of divine grace. Hence, with all his wildness, he was neither quack nor fanatic. *Quackery*—a crying evil in the Church at the present time—consists in a pretension to inward power, with or without the clear consciousness of the pretender himself, on the ground of a merely phenomenal activity, without any regard to its spiritual basis. Simon Magus was a quack; Apollonius of Tyana was a quack; and Simeon the Stylite, sitting on the top of his pillar to the glory of God, was a quack. And many quacks there be in every direction still; quacks little and quacks big; seeming to be what they are not, and dreaming to accomplish by the flesh what can be accomplished only by the spirit. Such, however,

Farel was *not*. The outward, in his case, rooted itself continually in the inward; and the result was power such as quackery can never reach. *Fanaticism*, again, is zeal pervaded with malign affection; taking its rise from selfishness, and always returning thither at last, as to its proper end. Widely different from this was the spirit of Farel. Love lay at the foundation of all his activity, and uttered itself through its most violent explosions. There was no selfishness or malevolence about him; but a willingness rather to suffer all imaginable indignities and provocations, if only he might hope to be serviceable to the souls of his fellow-men. Whatever may be said against him, he was at least a genuine man, pervaded with the life of God in all his movements: he was no fanatic, and he was no quack.

Let no apology, then, be drawn from his irregularities, in favor of wild measures in the service of religion, on the part of common men in common times. This is the very essence of quackery, to ape the forms by which, in special cases, true power has made itself known, and then claim shelter beneath the shadow of such example, without a particle of its spirit. If men affect to roar and thunder and play the Boanerges, in the style of a Whitefield or a Farel, let them show their title to do so, by exhibiting the inward power of these preachers, and not expect their roaring and thundering, of itself, to pass for such strength. Where the life gives birth to the form, going before it and creating it freely for its own

use, we have reason to be satisfied even with the most abnormal manifestations. They become, in that case, natural and right. But the same or similar irregularities, put forward in any other way, in their own name and for their own sake, betray weakness and deserve contempt. The quack is the slave of forms, even where he assumes to be free in his movements. He would fain be something more than common, and dreams of becoming so by outward attitudes and positions, as though *these* could create life, and generate light and power. But it is pitiful, when small men, traditional men, mechanical men, without spiritual bottom or force, set themselves to gain credit in this way; and most especially so, if their sphere of action be the sacred ministry.

JOHN CALVIN.

1509 — 1564.

JOHN CALVIN was undoubtedly the greatest theologian and disciplinarian of the sixteenth century; and one of those rare men who exert a moulding influence not only upon their age and people, but upon future generations, in different countries; and not only upon the Church, but indirectly upon all the departments of political, moral, and social life. The history of Switzerland, Germany, France, the Netherlands, Great Britain, and the United States, for the last three centuries, bears upon a thousand pages the impress of his mind and character. He raised the little republic of Geneva to the reputation of a Protestant Rome. He gave the deepest impulse to the reform movement which involved France, his native land, in a series of civil wars, furnished a host of martyrs to the evangelical faith, and is still alive in that great nation, in spite of the Bartholomew massacre, the revocation of the edict of Nantes, the dragonades and exile of the Huguenots by Louis XIV. He kindled the religious fire which roused the moral and intellectual strength of Holland, and consumed the fetters of the political despotism of Spain and the

dungeons of the Inquisition. His genius left a stronger mark on the national character of the Anglo-Saxon race and the Churches of Great Britain, than their native reformers. His theology and piety made Scotland the classical soil of Presbyterianism, and one of the most enlightened, energetic, and virtuous countries on the globe. His spirit controlled the Puritan revolution of the seventeenth century. He may be called the spiritual father of New England and the American republic. Calvinism, in its various modifications and applications, is, to this day, the most powerful element in the religious and ecclesiastical life of the Western World.

A few years after the catastrophe of the Swiss Reformation, and the untimely death of Zwingli and Ecolampadius, a French youth, of extraordinary precocity of genius and strength of character, began to attract the attention of the Protestants in Switzerland, and to revive their drooping spirits. His name was John Cauvin, or Caulvin, generally written Calvin. He was born at Noyon, in France, July 10, 1509, educated for the priesthood, and then for the legal profession, at the universities of Orleans, Bourges, and Paris; and converted, as a student, to evangelical views, which he at once professed, at the risk of persecution and death. A Latin inaugural address which he wrote for the new rector of the Sorbonne, and in which he boldly advocated certain reforms in the Church, compelled him to flee from Paris. He spent a short time in the kingdom of Navarre, with Queen

Marguerite, the sister of Francis I., of France, and a highly accomplished lady, who was favorably disposed to the cause of Protestantism. From there he proceeded to republican Switzerland; and, with many other French refugees, he found a hospitable asylum in the city of Basel.

Here he astonished the world, in 1536, when yet a youth of twenty-six years, by the first Latin edition of his "Institutes of the Christian Religion," by far the ablest exposition of the evangelical system of doctrines which had yet appeared, written with glowing enthusiasm, original vigor of thought, in the clearest logical order and classical elegance of style, and accompanied by a most eloquent appeal to the King of France, in behalf of the persecuted Protestants.

After a short visit to the court of the Duchess of Ferrara, a patroness of the evangelical movement in Italy, he intended to settle permanently at Basel or Strasburg, and to serve the cause of the Gospel with his pen. His way led him, in 1536, through the city of Geneva, which, under the guidance of the fearless evangelist, William Farel, and with the assistance of the canton of Bern, had just shaken off the political yoke of the Dukes of Savoy, and the spiritual yoke of popery, but was now in danger of running into the opposite extreme of licentiousness and anarchy. At the earnest request and conjuration of Farel, he reluctantly concluded to remain, and to assist him in introducing the positive and constructive part of the Reformation.

To this end, he insisted from the start upon a severe discipline, and the excommunication of all unworthy members from the communion of the Lord's Supper. But the Genevese would not submit to such stern rule, and banished the Protestant preachers, in 1538. Calvin left, with the words: "It is better to obey God than man."

He now spent two years as pastor of a congregation of French refugees, and theological teacher in the new academy of the city of Strasburg, which, like its reformer, Bucer, occupied a middle position between Lutheranism and Zwinglianism. Here he became better acquainted with the German Reformation; attended, as delegate, several conferences with the Romanists, at Worms, Frankfurt, Regensburg; and formed, on these occasions, the personal friendship of Melancthon, which was based on profound mutual esteem, and lasted to their death. The Germans appreciated his talents, and called him emphatically "the theologian." He also published, at Strasburg, a new edition of his Institutes, a Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans, and a tract on the Eucharist, which elicited the favorable notice of Luther.

But the people of Geneva, learning from sad experience the evil effects of a purely negative Protestantism, recalled their faithful pastor, who was soon to shed an immortal lustre on their city, and received him with the greatest enthusiasm, in September, 1541. Here commences the second part of his life, the time of his greatest usefulness. He had now found, after many wanderings, a per-

manent home, and remained in Geneva, which is henceforth inseparable from his name, to his death, in 1564. Although timid by nature, as he himself confesses, and sickly in constitution, he developed an astounding activity as preacher, pastor, professor of theology, president of the ministerial council, legislator, correspondent, and author.

In spite of the fearful opposition of the licentious party of the Libertines, which at times even endangered his life, he not only succeeded in establishing Protestantism in Geneva, on a solid moral and religious basis, but made it the metropolis of the Reformed Church. John Knox, the distinguished reformer of Scotland, who spent several years there, as pastor of a congregation of English exiles, and student of Calvin, in a letter to his friend Locke, gave the following testimony in Geneva, in 1556. "In my heart I could have wished, yea, and I cannot cease to wish, that it might please God to guide and conduct yourself to this place, which I neither fear nor am ashamed to say, is the most perfect school of Christ that ever was in the earth since the days of the apostles. In other places, I confess Christ to be truly preached; but manners and religion to be so sincerely reformed, I have not yet seen in any other place beside."¹ Geneva also became the hospitable asylum for persecuted Protestants from France, England, Scotland, etc.; and, through the returning exiles, it scattered the seed of the pure doctrine and strict discipline to

¹ Life of John Knox, by Dr. Thomas M'Crie, Philad. ed., 1845, p. 129.

those countries. It was, in this respect, in the sixteenth century, what, in the seventeenth, the North American colonies became, on a much larger scale, to the persecuted and oppressed religionists of every land.

But Calvin lived not for Geneva alone. His heart and soul moved always in the general interests of the kingdom of Christ. From this centre of operations, he extended his influence, through his writings, correspondence, and hundreds of living disciples, to every country where Protestantism took a foot-hold. In his interesting correspondence, now for the first time collected and published, in six volumes, by Bonnet, we see him conversing as a friend and brother with the reformers Melanchthon, Farel, Beza, Bullinger, Bucer, Grynæus, Knox, Prince Condé, Admiral Coligny, the Duchess of Ferrara; respectfully reproving the Queen Marguerite of Navarre; exhorting Jeanne d'Albret, mother of Henry IV.; counselling the Duke of Somerset, and the young King Edward VI., of England; withstanding the Libertines and pseudo-Protestants; strengthening the martyrs; and directing the Reformation in Switzerland, Poland, France, England, and Scotland.

As a theological writer, Calvin occupies the first rank amongst the reformers. In native vigor, freshness, and fertility of mind, he was not equal to Luther; but far superior to him in cultivation and discipline, in scientific method, logical order and consistency. His most distinguished and per-

manent works are his Institutes of the Christian Religion, which follow the order of the Apostles' Creed, and his Commentaries on the most important books of the Old, and all the books of the New Testament, with the exception of the Apocalypse. The latter combine, in an extraordinary degree, the various theoretical and practical qualifications of a good interpreter of the Scriptures, and are not surpassed by any exegetical works of any age. Hence, they have been frequently republished; and are continually referred to by the best modern commentators, as Olshausen, Tholuck, Lücke, Vale, Hengstenberg, Bleck, De Wette, Meyer, Ebrard.

The most prominent features of his theological system, as distinct from that of the other reformers, are his theory of the Lord's Supper and on the divine decrees. His doctrine on the Eucharist is an ingenious attempt to combine the realness and mysticism of the Lutheran theory with the spiritualism and rationality of the Zwinglian view; and thus to satisfy the heart as well as the intellect, by maintaining a real spiritual presence and enjoyment of the vivific power or supernatural virtue of Christ's glorified humanity, through the medium of faith. This view passed into nearly all the symbolical books of the Reformed Church, from the "Consensus Tigurinus" down to the "Westminster Confession." It has been preserved, especially, in the German branches of the Reformed Church; while, amongst the Puritanic sections of English Protestantism, it gave way, to a consider-

able extent, to the purely symbolical and commemorative view of Zwingli, which recommends itself more to the understanding and common sense, but can never satisfy the deeper wants of the heart. Calvin went so far as to call it "profane."

The doctrine of predestination, the absolute freedom and irresistibility of divine grace, and the slavery of the human will, was at first held by all the reformers, and by Luther in the very strongest terms (as may be seen from his tract *De Servo Arbitrio*, of 1528, against Erasmus's *De Libero Arbitrio*), in opposition to the prevailing Pelagianism of the Romish Church. But Calvin developed it more logically, made it one of the chief pillars of his system, and held to it with unwavering consistency through life; whilst the Lutheran reformers (at least Melanchthon) exchanged it for a semi-Augustinian, or synergistic, view of the relation of the divine and human will, in the work of redemption. Calvin unquestionably gave an unscriptural disproportion to this doctrine, and went even beyond the infralapsarian position of St. Augustine, to the very borders of supralapsarianism, yet carefully guarding against the last logical conclusion which would make God the author of sin, and thus destroy the very foundation of morality. "Adam fell," he says, "God having so ordained it; yet he fell by his own guilt."

The doctrine rested, with him, principally on religious and exegetical, but also on philosophical, considerations. He was led to it by an overwhelm-

ing sense of man's sinfulness and moral impotence, on the one hand, and the absolute supremacy of God's will and grace, on the other; and by the study of certain portions of the Bible, especially the ninth chapter of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans. His motive in enforcing this doctrine was to cut out all Pelagianism and self-righteousness by the root, to humble man's pride, and to give all glory to God. From this deepest self-humiliation sprang his moral strength; and God's free grace was to him the most powerful stimulus to holiness. Far from leading to Antinomianism or despair, as one should suppose from logical reasoning, we find Calvinism, to this day, generally combined with profound moral earnestness and energy, severe self-control, and a cheering though humble conviction of the certainty of salvation, but not always with the sweeter graces of the Gospel. Yet the doctrine of a double predestination is the weakness as well as the strength of Calvinism; and is, not without reason, called "its knotty point." It presents only one side of the truth: it does violence to the conception of God's love and justice, and to a number of the clearest passages of the Scriptures. For this reason, it never can become catholic, but must ever remain sectional. It was only received into the confessions of the French, Dutch, and Scotch Reformed Churches; and even there with more or less caution against the supralapsarian extreme. But the thirty-nine articles of the Church of England, the Heidelberg Catechism, and the other symbols of the German Reformed Church,

occupy a more liberal and moderate position on this difficult subject; for, while they teach the positive and consoling part, viz., the election of believers by free grace to everlasting life, they either pass over in silence, or expressly reject, the negative part, the unconditional decree of reprobation, and the supralapsarian scheme of the foreordination of the fall of Adam. Hence, the Anglican and the German Reformed Churches cannot be called Calvinistic, in the same sense in which this term holds good to the Reformed Churches of France, Holland, and Scotland.

Calvin was not merely a scholar and theologian, but an eminently practical man; and exerted as powerful an influence by his actions and institutions, as by his books. He may be compared to the greatest legislators of antiquity. He remodelled the entire commonwealth of Geneva. He labored as earnestly for the purity of life and manners, as for the purity of doctrine. He inspired into the Reformed Church generally the genius of organization and self-government, the spirit of order and discipline, the aggressive energy and boldness, and the principle of thorough and constant reform. Although the French character is naturally inclined to levity, it produces, by the law of reaction, when once brought under the influence of religion, a very high degree of seriousness. Romanism in France has given rise to the severest monastic orders, the Carthusians and the Trappists. So, also, the Reformation in France assumed the most serious character, especially in

the person of Calvin. There seldom was a man whose whole life was so strict, regular, and well ordered as his. It presents a beautiful unity and harmony, on the basis of an unshaken firmness of conviction, and absolute submission to God's sovereign will.

Luther, and the German reformers generally, confined themselves to a reformation of faith and doctrine; and thought that all outward changes in government and discipline would follow, as a matter of course. But Calvin regarded a strict discipline as the indispensable basis of a flourishing condition of Church and State, which were then very intimately united. With all his uncompromising opposition to popery, he had a very strong Church feeling. "The Church," he says, in the fourth book of his Institutes, "is our mother. This appellation alone is sufficient to show how useful and necessary it is to know her. For we cannot enter into spiritual life unless we are born of her womb, nourished at her breasts, preserved under her roof and protection, until we shall be delivered from this mortal life, and be like angels." He hated and abhorred an unchurchly radicalism and licentiousness, fully as much as the opposite extreme of popery and despotism. Hence his war against the pseudo-Protestant Libertines, or Spirituels, as they called themselves, who abused the liberty of the Gospel as a cloak for the licentiousness of the flesh, and threatened religion and society with anarchy and dissolution. Severe against himself, Calvin was also severe against

others. He retained or revived the most rigorous punishments of the Mosaic law and of the Middle Ages. Adultery, cruelty against parents, blasphemy, and dangerous heresy, were punished with death. Even innocent amusements were prohibited.

It seems almost incredible to what an extent discipline was enforced, at Geneva, in the latter part of his life, after he had successfully conquered the radical and licentious party of the Libertines. This extreme severity reminds one more of Moses than of Christ; but seems to have been necessary under the circumstances. Gamblers were put in the pillory, with the cards on their neck. A child was executed, for having whipped his parents. The most dangerous leaders of the opposition were deposed or banished, as Castellio, Bolser, Ameaux; or beheaded, as Gruet.

But the most famous act of discipline exercised at Geneva, under the eyes of Calvin, was the burning of the Spanish physician and fanatical pseudo-reformer, Michael Servetus, for heresy and blasphemy, in 1553.¹ This sad tragedy has brought an unlimited amount of reproach upon him, to this day. There is no apology for it, of course, from the stand-point of the nineteenth century. The better feelings of humanity, and the spirit of the Gospel, alike condemn it. But every man has a

¹ The authentic acts of the process have been recently published by Rilliet: "*Relation du procès criminel intenté à Genève (1553) contre Michael Servet, redigé d'après les documents originaux.*" Genève, 1844.

right to be judged by the standard of his own age. In this case, the following facts must be kept in view, if we would not do injustice to the memory of a great and good man. Servetus had been previously condemned to the stake by the Roman Catholic tribunals in France, as a most dangerous heretic, a blasphemer of the Holy Trinity, and an enemy to society; and was actually burned in effigy, after his escape to Geneva. Calvin did all he could to convert the unfortunate man, and to induce the magistrates of Geneva to mitigate the form of punishment (see his letters from Aug. 20, 1553). “*Spero capitale saltem judicium fore, poende vero atrocitatem remitti cupio.*” All the leading Protestant divines and laymen, and even the mild and amiable Melancthon, fully approved of the condemnation of Servetus. The right and duty of the civil magistrates to propagate truth, and to punish heresy by the sword, was at that time, with the exception of a few Socinians, universally admitted and acted upon by Protestants as well as Catholics. The Anabaptists were everywhere imprisoned, banished, or drowned. Cranmer sent Joan of Kent to the stake; and followed himself, in a few years, with Latimer and Ridley. Five disciples of Beza were burned by the Catholics, at Lyons, in the same year in which Servetus was committed to the flames. As late as 1601, Nicolaus Crell, chancellor of Saxony, was executed, on the charge of Crypto-Calvinism. Servetus himself admitted the legal theory under which he suffered; for, in his work on the Restitution of

Christianity, he says distinctly, that blasphemy is worthy of death "simpliciter," *i. e.*, without dispute. The seventeenth century made no progress in this respect, but was even more intolerant than the sixteenth. Bossuet was able to say, that all Christians had long been unanimous as to the punishment of heretics. Every reader of American history knows that Quakers and witches were burned, or most cruelly mutilated, at Boston and Salem, between 1650 and 1660. It was only in the eighteenth century that the old Jewish and Romish views on the temporal punishment of heretics were successfully undermined; partly by the spirit of religious indifferentism (Voltaire, Frederic the Great, Jefferson, and other infidels, were among the most zealous defenders of religious toleration), partly by the progress of humanity and philanthropy, and, finally, by a more careful separation of the sphere of the State and the Church, the temporal and the spiritual power. Sound and consistent Protestantism must necessarily lead to an enlightened policy of toleration, and to full civil and religious liberty, within the limits of public order and morality. But it could not reach this result at once; and, in many countries, it has not reached it to this day.

However deeply, then, we may now deplore and abhor the burning of Servetus for denying and insulting the doctrine of the Holy Trinity, and for other dangerous errors, it is unjust to censure Calvin, more than his age, for what grew out of the spirit and laws of mediæval Catholicism, and the

close union of Church and State, and what had the express sanction of all the reviving reformers. His only fault, in the matter of religious liberty, was, that he was not in advance of his age, and formed no exception to the general rule. It is true, nevertheless, and placed beyond dispute by the histories of Holland, England, Scotland, and the United States, that Calvinism, by developing the spirit of moral self-government and manly independence, has done more for the promotion of civil and religious liberty, than any other Church or sect in Christendom.

Whatever may be thought of the severity of this system of discipline, it purified the moral atmosphere of Geneva; and gave it, towards the end of Calvin's life, a well-deserved reputation for a degree of order, zeal, and piety, as no other city possessed. It lasted during the greater part of the seventeenth century; and traces of it may be found to this day, in spite of the apostasy of the Church of Geneva to Socinianism, and the bad influence of Rousseau, who was born in that city, and did as much to disorganize the morals of society, as Calvin had done to organize them. Farel wrote, in 1557, that he never saw Geneva in such excellent condition before, and that he would rather be the last there than the first anywhere else. There, it was said, the pure Gospel is preached in all temples and houses (Calvin himself preached daily every other week); there the music of psalms never ceases; there hands are folded and hearts lifted

up to heaven from morning till night, and from night till morning.

Another important feature in the reformation of Geneva, which was closely connected with the subject of discipline, was the institution of seniors, or elders; although it was not as fully developed there as afterwards in Scotland. These officers were chosen from the people, with the view to represent the conscience of the congregation, and to assist the ministers in the exercise of discipline. They were not elected by the people, but by the ministers. For the republic of Geneva was no democracy, but rather a spiritual aristocracy, in the best sense of the term. Yet the people elected their ministers, and confirmed the election of the seniors.

Calvin is, thus, the proper founder of the Presbyterian form of government, which has done so much to develop the manly self-government and general priesthood of the Christian people, and to engage their active interest and co-operation in all the affairs of the Church.

The reformer was yet in the prime of manhood when his body sank under the load of such extraordinary activity. Frequent headaches, asthma, fever, gravel, and other diseases, nocturnal study, with a dim lamp suspended over his humble bed, fasting, watchful anxiety, and care of all the churches, had long undermined his weak and emaciated frame. But he had the satisfaction to die in full possession of all his mental powers, at the height of his reputation and usefulness, with

the assurance of leaving the Church of Geneva in the most able and faithful hands, and with the prospects of the rapid progress and triumph of the cause of reform in France, Holland, England, and Scotland. Like a patriarch, he assembled the ministers and syndics of Geneva round his death-bed, humbly asked their pardon for the occasional outbreaks of his violence and wrath, and affected them to tears by words of the most solemn exhortation to persevere in the pure doctrine and discipline of Christ. Beza gives a full account of this sublime scene, the worthy close of a great public life. The few remaining days Calvin spent in severe bodily pain, in constant prayer and repetition of passages of Scripture, such as: "I was dumb: I opened not my mouth, because thou didst it." Ps. 39, 9. He died peacefully, May 27, 1564, in his 55th year, in the arms of his friend and successor Beza.

He left no family. He had been a widower since 1549, and his only child had died in infancy. His wife, Idelette de Bures, of Strasburg, whom he married in 1541, united the attributes which he required from a lady of his choice. In a letter to Farel, he says: "I could only be pleased with a lady who is sweet, chaste, modest, economical, patient, and careful of her husband's health." But, to his great grief, she was taken from him, after a happy and godly union of nine years. "I am separated," he wrote to Viret, "from the best companion, who would cheerfully have shared with me exile and poverty, and followed me into

death. During her life she was to me a faithful assistant in all my labors."

In his private life, Calvin was exceedingly plain, self-denying, and ascetic. For years, he took but one meal a day. He refused high salary and presents of every description, and yet he had always to spare for the poor and the persecuted. All the property he left, exclusive of the library, hardly exceeded the sum of two hundred dollars, which he made over to the poor, and the children of his brother. He was averse to all earthly enjoyments. He lived in the midst of the most charming beauties of nature, which give the shores of Lake Lemman almost the character of an earthly paradise; and within his sight rose the sublime Alps, like clouds of incense from earth to heaven, in constant adoration of their Maker. And yet we look in vain, in his writings, for even an incidental expression of sympathy with these wonders of the visible world. He was reserved, stern, severe, dignified, self-possessed—a Christian stoic. He represents the type of English and Puritanic piety. Although by no means destitute of the tender affections, as his correspondence with Farel, Viret, Beza, and Melancthon, proves, yet he was none of those men who invite familiarity, and take hold of one's feelings, like the open, straight-forward, warm-hearted Luther, the truest representative of German evangelical piety. "His soul," says Jules Bonnet, "absorbed by the tragic emotions of the struggle he maintained, at Geneva, and by the labors of his vast propagandism abroad, rarely revealed itself,

and only in brief words, which are the lightnings of moral sensibility, revealing unknown depths, without showing them wholly to our view." He was an impregnable tower of strength to the friends of an energetic and thorough reform, and a terror to papists and libertines. He excites either intense respect and admiration, or intense hatred; to despise him is impossible. He lived constantly in the fear of God; and most earnestly and devotedly labored, as one of His most faithful servants, to promote His glory and to reform His Church, on the basis of His holy Word. His motto was: "*Cor meum velut mactatum Domino in sacrificium offero.*" "I would ten thousand times rather be swallowed up by the earth," he says, "than not obey what the spirit of God commands me to do, through the mouth of his prophets."

Unwilling to take any glory to himself, Calvin forbade the erection of a stone or any other ornament on his grave; and even the place of his burial cannot be pointed out, with certainty, in the cemetery of Geneva. But his word and example still live, and act as powerfully as in the sixteenth century, in the Reformed Churches of Europe and America, which are his imperishable monument.

THEODORE BEZA.

1519—1605.

THEODORE DE BÈZE, or BEZA, the able and faithful disciple, colleague, and successor of Calvin, and the last surviving patriarch of the age of the Reformation, was a French nobleman of high and honorable descent, brilliant talents, finished education, and the best prospects of a splendid career, in the capital of France, when Providence called him to take part in the work of religious reform. He was born July 24, 1519, and trained for the legal profession, in the universities of Orleans, Bourges, and Paris. When quite a youth, he distinguished himself by his attainments in classical literature, belles lettres, and Latin poetry. In his twentieth year, he graduated as Bachelor of Law.

He early imbibed Protestant notions from his tutor and teacher in Greek, Melchoir Wolmar, of Germany, professor at Bourges, who exerted also considerable influence upon the conversion of Calvin. Beza always gratefully remembered the services of this distinguished scholar. "How much labor," he wrote to him, many years afterwards, "have you bestowed upon my education!

I can testify that there is no noble Greek or Latin author whom you did not make me acquainted with, during the seven years I spent with you; that there is none of the liberal arts, not even jurisprudence excepted, of which I did not learn at least the elements from you. But the greatest benefit you have conferred upon me, is this, that you conducted me through the word of God, as the purest fountain, to the knowledge of true piety; so that I would be the most ungrateful of men, if I refused to call you my father." The persecutions against the Protestants induced Wolmar to return to Germany, in 1535. He wished to take his favorite pupil with him; but Beza's father and relations refused their consent. They took him to Paris. Here he continued his studies; and, by the influence of his family, he got the income of two ecclesiastical benefices, without intending to enter the clerical state. When the Emperor Charles V. made his entry into Paris, he had the honor to be presented to him, and to pronounce a Latin eulogy. But the handsome, wealthy, witty, and polished young nobleman, moving not only in literary, but also in the highest fashionable circles, did not escape the temptations of a gay and licentious city; and forgot, for some time, the pious impressions made upon him in his early youth. He was too fond of Ovid, and other erotic poets of the Romans; and published a volume of Latin poetry, *Juvenilia*, which breathes, in part, a light and worldly spirit, in attractive, elegant style. He himself confessed, afterwards, as a man of Euro-

pean reputation (1560), and also in his last will and testament, with noble frankness and profound regret, the aberrations of his youth, which have been much exaggerated, without proof, by the slanderous Bolser and Remond, and by some modern Roman Catholic writers.¹

But he was of too noble a nature to be satisfied in the labyrinth of worldly pleasure and ambition. His conscience revolted. His heart longed to tear itself loose from all the associations of popery, and from the certain prospect of a brilliant career. Finally, a severe illness decided his thorough conversion. He determined to sacrifice relatives, friends, wealth, influence, and fatherland, to his religious convictions. In 1548, as soon as he had recovered sufficiently, he fled, as a voluntary exile, to Geneva, accompanied by his wife, Claude Desnoz, to whom he was secretly betrothed (with the knowledge of but two friends) since 1544, with the promise never to receive papal orders, and to make the union public as soon as circumstances would permit. His first walk to church, in Geneva, was the redemption of this pledge.

Calvin received the stranger kindly, and at once recognised in him a man of great promise to the Reformed Church. He gave him, while he was dangerously ill, the following honorable testimony, in a letter to a friend in Paris: "It would be inhuman for me not to love Beza, him who loves

¹ Even in the otherwise tolerably impartial *Kirchenlexicon* of Dr. Aschbach, vol. i. p. 707. See the truth of the matter, in the accurate biography of Baum, vol. i. pp. 60-81.

me more than a brother, who reveres me as a father. But I would still more deeply deplore his loss on account of the Church; for I hope he will be of infinite benefit to her, he, whom all love for the graces of his spirit, for his refined manners, and his open and honorable character. I trust his life will be restored to our prayers." After a short visit to his teacher Wolmar, in Tübingen, he was called to Lausanne, as professor of the Greek language and literature, in 1549. He would not accept, until he had declared to his colleagues how deeply he regretted the publication of his *Juvenilia*. He labored there ten years, and took an active and leading part in all the interests of the Church. He finished (1552) the French poetical translation of the Psalms, by Clement Marot, the father of modern French poetry. The translation, of which one-third is the work of Beza, became exceedingly popular, even with Catholics, but especially amongst the Huguenots, in France. He also sent from Lausanne to France five of his pupils, as evangelists (1553), who, however, were imprisoned and burned as heretics, at Lyons, in spite of the earnest intercession of Bern and Zurich. But, while he glorified their martyrdom in a Latin elegy, and interceded very zealously with the Swiss cantons and German princes in behalf of the persecuted Waldenses in Piedmont, and the Protestants in France, he defended the cruel execution of Servetus; and employed his talents to prove the right and duty of the Christian State to punish heretics by the sword. His principal argument is

the same as that used by St. Augustine, that heresy, as a spiritual crime, tending to ruin the soul eternally, deserves still greater punishment than theft, murder, and other crimes, which affect only the body, and the temporal interests of society. It loses its force as soon as we make a careful distinction between the Church and the State. But, even if we admit the theocratic view of the reformers, that the highest object of the State is to glorify God, the question arises, whether the temporal punishment of spiritual offences is the best means to that end, or whether a wise toleration is not more likely at last to result in the triumph of truth. The horrors of the Inquisition have ruined Spain; and the burning of Servetus, while it could not arrest the progress of Unitarian opinions, has forever inflicted a black spot on the great and good name of Calvin. But it must be remembered that Beza was supported in this view by the public opinion of his age.

In 1558, Calvin called him to Geneva. Here commences the second period of his life, the time of his greatest activity. During Calvin's life, he devoted himself mainly to the teaching of Greek and theology in the newly erected college and academy of the city, which soon acquired great celebrity, and became the chief seminary for the clergy of the Reformed Church in France. After the death of his friend, he was elected president of the consistory, and assumed his position generally as the leader of the Reformed Church in Switzerland and France.

In his relation to the other Protestant Churches, he labored to maintain and promote unity. He stood in friendly correspondence with Bullinger, and went to Germany several times as delegate in behalf of the persecuted French Protestants and the Waldenses. But the Huguenots in his native country engaged his most active attention. He was their spokesman at the religious conference of Poissy, near Paris, where Charles IX., his mother, Catharine de Medicis, all the royal princes, four cardinals, thirty-six bishops and archbishops, and the second general of the order of the Jesuits, Lainez, attended. Although it led to no reconciliation, he showed, on this and similar occasions, much diplomatic skill and prudence, as well as eloquence and immovable firmness of conviction. During the critical period of 1561-63, he was in France, watching all the important movements, preaching, and counselling the Queen Joanne of Navarre, Prince Condé, and Admiral Coligny. He presided over the synods of La Rochelle (1571) and Nismes (1573).

A detailed account of these events belongs rather to the history of France, than to a life of Beza. It is well known that the succession of civil wars between the Huguenots and the Dukes of Guise ended with the triumph of the Protestant prince, Henry IV., who renounced his religion for the peace of the country; but, by the celebrated edict of Nantes (1598), secured to his former associates freedom of worship. It was formerly supposed that Beza justified the step of Henry, as an un-

avoidable political measure, to secure himself in power. But a letter of his, recently published, from the manuscripts of the library of Geneva, teaches the reverse. He exhorted the king, in 1593, not to look to his position, but to God and his conscience, trusting that He who delivered him from greater danger would defend him against his enemies, and keep him on the throne, if it be His holy will. The king did not obey his advice, but continued to esteem the friend of his mother, and gave him a kind audience, in the neighborhood of Geneva (1599).

A few years before his death, Pope Clement VIII. sent to Beza the celebrated St. Francis of Sales, who had converted thousands of Protestants, in the neighborhood of Geneva, with the view to induce him to return to the Romish Church. The saintly bishop offered him perfect security, and an annual pension of four thousand pieces of gold — not as a bribe, as he said, but in order to facilitate his step. But it was all in vain. All he admitted, was the possibility of salvation in the Romish Church. When the Jesuits spread the rumor of his death and conversion, in 1598, the old man himself chastised the lie so severely, that his enemies roundly asserted that the reformed had invented the lie, in order to abuse the Romanists for it.

Beza, revered as the patriarch of the French Reformed Church, died in 1605, at the advanced age of eighty-six.

In personal intercourse, he was a perfect French gentleman—more mild, amiable, and popular, than his greater predecessor. The Genevese used to say, they would rather be with Beza in hell, than with Calvin in heaven. But, in theological controversy, especially with the papists, he could wield the keenest weapons of irony and sarcasm, both in poetry and in prose.

His theological views entirely conformed to the system of Calvin. On several occasions, he defended his view on the Eucharist against papists and the Lutheran tenet of oral manducation and the ubiquity of Christ's body. In the view on the divine decrees, he commits himself even to a more rigorous logic and revolting consistency than Calvin. He teaches clearly a limited atonement, and represents man as simply a passive instrument in the hands of God, for the revelation of His mercy and justice. In order to show His mercy, He must elect and save a minority, without any merit of their own: in order to show His justice, He must punish the mass with perdition.

He wrote a number of doctrinal, polemical, historical, and poetical productions. But his most lasting merits belong to his labors as an editor, translator, and expounder of the New Testament. His edition of the Greek Testament, although deficient, on account of the limited number of manuscripts at his disposal (the oldest manuscript he used is the codex Beza, now at Cambridge, England), became the standard edition, for a long

time, and was made the basis of the excellent English version now in common use. His notes do not go so fully and deeply into the exposition of the theological and religious contents of the sacred writings. He was, however, the best grammatical and critical commentator amongst the reformers, and gave great impulse to Biblical studies.

JOHN DE LASKY.

1499—1560.

“Legitimus et ecclesiasticæ et politicæ disciplinæ usus est nervus totius ecclesiastici regiminis.”—JOANNES A LASCO, 1555.

JOHN DE LASKY, the founder and organizer of the Reformed Church in East Friesland, the Netherlands, the lower Rhine, and in England, and the reformer of Poland, descended from one of the most prominent and wealthy families among the nobility of Poland. He was born in Warsaw 1499, and was a nephew of the primate of the realm, the Archbishop of Gnesen. Endowed with a strong mind and a resolute spirit, the advantages of his birth and education contributed to the formation of a manly, independent, and noble character, that was illustrated in all the leading acts of his eventful life.

After completing his preliminary studies in Poland, De Lasky went abroad, in 1523, according to the custom of the times, and visited the celebrated schools of Lyons and Basel. At Lyons, he formed an intimate and lasting friendship with Albert Hardenberg, subsequently court-preacher to the Archbishop of Cologne, and the reformer of Bre-

men. In Zurich, he became acquainted with Zwingli, and took ground against him on the necessity of a Reformation. In opposition to the authority of the Roman Catholic Church and of the popes, which Lasky maintained, Zwingli referred him to the teachings of the Sacred Scriptures, of which, up to this time, he had but little knowledge. These discussions produced an ineffaceable impression upon him. But he did not yet possess very deep and clear views of Christian truth. Repairing to Basel, in 1525, he became the guest of the great Erasmus, for several months in succession, and by him was won decidedly for Christ and the science of theology. A warm mutual attachment sprang up between them. Lasky's method of thinking in theology, was moulded by Erasmus, whose disciple, in this respect, he continued to be to the end of his life; and when, subsequently, he went beyond this great theologian, in deep religious knowledge and Christian experience, he nevertheless adhered to the system of doctrine as taught by Zwingli and the Zurichers. Erasmus, on the other hand, was captivated by the extraordinary learning, and especially by the amiability and spotless morality, of his young friend; and, at a later period, freely acknowledged his great indebtedness to this young man. "He is a pattern for all," said he. "I, an old man, have been made better through my intercourse with this youth. The sobriety, moderation, modesty, chastity, and purity, which he ought to learn from me, an old man, I have learned from him."

At Basel, Lasky also enjoyed the instructions of Pellicanus, professor of Hebrew, and of Œcolampadius, whose simplicity and piety were a source of great spiritual good to him. Besides, at Zurich, he formed a very intimate acquaintance with the most influential disciple and follower of Zwingli, Henry Bullinger, whom he highly esteemed, in view of his simplicity in doctrine and moderation in controversy; yet freely counselled him to use a still greater degree of mildness, especially towards Luther.

This season of literary and Christian fellowship with kindred spirits, was broken up (1525) by an order from his parents and the court of Poland, requiring him to visit France and Spain, on State affairs, and then return home. Thus, after an absence of about three years, Lasky came back to Poland, in 1526, a decided and intelligent adherent to the new and liberal views of Erasmus; who held, however, "that it was more judicious to abide by the Church and her doctrines, notwithstanding her objectionable features, than to introduce doubtful innovations." Sharing this view, Lasky, with all his love of pure Christian doctrine, could enter the service of the Roman Catholic Church of Poland with a good conscience; indulging the hope that, in this way, he could the more easily infuse the power of evangelical truth into his native country. First, he became provost of Gnesen; afterwards was promoted to several other important benefices; but he could not succeed in bringing about the gradual reform of the Church for which

he labored. Disappointed at this result, the yoke of Pharisaic self-righteousness of the Romish Church became more burdensome; and the ungodly and disgraceful lives of his associates in office filled his heart with a deeper sorrow. At length, after losing ten years of his life, as he says, he broke away from all dangerous entanglements, and turned his back upon the brilliant prospects which lay before him. He refused the bishopric of Cujavien, which was tendered him, declared himself in favor of a thorough evangelical Reformation, and bid adieu to his beloved fatherland, "until he would be recalled, not to lead a life of ease, or to enjoy the high honors of a bishop, but to serve God truly, in the Gospel of His Son." Then, at the age of ripe manhood, of commanding influence, and having received honorable testimonials from the king, he departed (1537), and, for a period of *nineteen* years, devoted himself, with indefatigable zeal and unchanging fidelity, and amid great self-denial, to the establishment of the Reformed Church in East Friesland, England, and Germany.

Lasky first visited his old friend, Albert Hardenberg, who was then at Mainz. At Lyons, in 1539, he married a pious girl, without wealth, from the common class of society. She proved to be an excellent and congenial companion, with whom he led a happy life for thirteen years, and had several children. In 1553 he married a second time, and was equally blessed in the selection of a helpmate.

From Lyons he removed to East Friesland, in

1540, and purchased an estate in the vicinity of Emden, where he expected to live in retirement. Here commences the most important period of his public career in the service of the Reformed Church.

East Friesland, bounded on the east by Oldenburg, on the north by the North Sea, and on the west by the North Sea and the Netherlands—the southern limit it is difficult to define, on a modern map—has, since the year 1815, been incorporated into, and now constitutes the western territory of, the kingdom of Hanover. At the time of which we are speaking, it was a separate duchy or county; but had, by inheritance, become subject to the jurisdiction of the Duke of Oldenburg. The duke, more liberal and generous than his fellow-rulers on the continent, allowed East Friesland to retain the civil and religious liberties by which it had for centuries been distinguished. It had even withstood, for a long time, the iron power of the Romish Church. At the period of which we are writing, it was the only State in Germany where a certain measure of religious toleration prevailed; and to which, in consequence, the persecuted among the kindred nations of West Friesland and the Netherlands—the Reformed, nicknamed Sacramentarians,¹ Anabaptists, and Lutherans—fled for refuge.

¹ Because they held that the real communion of believers with the human nature of Christ, in the holy sacrament of the Lord's Supper, was not local and outward, that is, by the mouth, but spiritual, that is, by faith, through the operation of the Holy Ghost.

The Reformation, as originally introduced, in 1526, by George Aportanus, the tutor of the family of the duke, and subsequently pastor in Emden, was of the Erasmo-Zwinglian type—a wooden table, instead of the altar, having been used in the celebration of the Lord's Supper, and common white bread, which was broken and handed to each communicant; an innovation that, at the time, produced an extraordinary excitement throughout the whole of Northern Germany. This tendency was confirmed by the influence of Carlstadt, during his residence in East Friesland, in 1528. So strong was the foothold the reformed doctrines had gained, that the attempts made, from 1536 to 1540, to introduce the Lutheran confession and cultus, were perseveringly resisted; and resulted in the division of the Church into (high) German Lutheran and (low) German Reformed, which has been perpetuated down to the present day. The Anabaptists also constituted a strong party, especially in Emden; and carried on a fierce warfare against the Lutheran clergy,¹ and reproached both the Reformed and Lutherans for their entire want of Church discipline.

Here John de Lasky selected the place of his temporary abode, where the Reformed Church—the Zwinglian doctrines and mode of worship, to which he was warmly attached—had secured a strong, if not a predominant, influence, and were tolerated, at least, by the State. The presence and

¹ Calling out publicly: "Death to the lying priests, death to the flesh-eaters!"

comparative freedom of various parties of persecuted Protestants led, however, to considerable confusion and disorder; and the widowed Duchess of Oldenburg, a noble-minded and pious woman, though not free from weaknesses, felt the necessity of introducing some system of comprehensive Church order, adapted to the peculiar condition of the country. For this purpose, she applied, as the duke himself had done shortly before his death, to De Lasky for counsel. He proposed his friend Hardenberg, who was himself a Frieslander, as general superintendent of ecclesiastical affairs. Hardenberg having declined the office, Lasky was himself urged to accept it. After passing through a severe inward conflict, he yielded, at length, in 1542, upon condition, however, "that he be obliged to continue in office only in case experience prove that, in calling him to the post, both the Duchess and the Church aimed at promoting the glory of God: should the contrary appear, he would demand of both an honorable dismissal."¹ He also stipulated, as he always did in accepting an office, that he be permitted freely to obey any call from his native country. Humble and modest, forgetting his own interests, but unwilling to give up anything demanded by the Word of God, he could say boldly, when the Duchess vacillated, or his own congregation were disposed to resist the authority of Church government: "As I have

¹ A call from the Duke Albrecht of Prussia, to Königsburg, Lasky declined, because the duke would not agree to the Church being entirely independent of the State.

freely engaged in the service of the Church of Christ, my strength and labors are cheerfully placed at the disposal of yourself, duchess, and of this Church. For I am ready not only to devote my property, trifling as it may be, to the good of the Church, without the prospect of any reward or advantage, but also, should it be necessary, to expose my life to any dangers for the honor of Christ, *if you will but confess that you are governed by, and will be subject to, the Word of God.* If you will not do this—if you prefer to obey the maxims of men and the wisdom of this world, I cannot and will not give you my co-operation. The servant of evangelical and apostolical doctrine I am ready to be, in my weakness; nor shall I hesitate to learn anything of which I may be ignorant, from the least of my brethren; but the servant of *human* wisdom in divine things, or of customs which are contrary to the Word of God, I will not be, upon any condition. Human wisdom is in place, and is of value, in human affairs; but, in matters of religion, the will and wisdom of God must take precedence of all the counsels of men."

With such decided views subordinating his life and conduct, not to the arbitrary notions of men, but only to the Word and will of God, Lasky undertook the duties of his office as pastor of the Reformed Church at Emden, and as superintendent of ecclesiastical affairs in East Friesland. Not dependent upon the members of his church, nor upon the favor of the duchess, he reposed his confidence in the protection of God, and not in the civil

government — a power whose interposition he feared more than desired. One of the first important subjects which engaged his attention, was the introduction of a scriptural order of public worship. Luther desired a gradual change in worship; but Lasky, like the reformers of Switzerland, aimed at once at a thorough and decided reformation, so as to avoid the necessity of a succession of changes. “For such changes,” said he, “serve to render religion at first uncertain, and then contemptible, in the judgment of the uncultivated. If, therefore, a change of cultus is to be introduced, I desire it to be done in such a way, that no additional changes will be necessary in future; that is, that all the papal abominations, so soon as their sinfulness shall be made evident, be abolished, without exception; and, in the introduction of new customs, an effort be made to conform as much as possible to the original purity and simplicity of the Apostolic Church, in order thus to supersede the necessity of any subsequent improvement.” Like Zwingli, he regarded “everything as forbidden, concerning the adoption of which into Church cultus, God had not given a command;” and, therefore, allowed nothing that “was contrary to the pattern given in the Sacred Scriptures,” or that “transcended the limits which it defines.” Soon after his installation into office, he accordingly demanded of the Duchess Anna, “for the sake of his conscience and the Word of God,” the removal of idolatrous pictures from the churches, and the abolishing of anti-scriptural

“adulterous” ceremonies; and did not rest until he succeeded in carrying out his purpose.

He was opposed to the *kneeling* posture of communicants, because unscriptural and popish. Whilst in Emden, he allowed communicants to receive the sacred symbols *standing*; but, in England, conforming to the custom of Zurich, he adopted the *sitting* posture, “in order to testify publicly, and in every way, that we abhor idolatry, and intend to oppose it as much as lies in our power.” He insisted on the use of ordinary bread in the administration of the Lord’s Supper; and, should a case occur in which wine could not be had, he was willing that something else should be substituted, “if only the main matter, the commemoration of Christ, be preserved, and the sacrament be not undervalued, but celebrated with solemnity and decorum.” With equal freedom and independence, however, he took ground against the Swiss, in the matter of private communion; maintaining, according to the undoubted custom of the apostolic age, the right to bear the elements, whenever desired, into the houses of the sick, and others, provided such private communion “take place only in cases of necessity, without superstition, and without prejudice to the public administration of the sacrament.”

These principles he also maintained when invited by the Archbishop Hermann, in 1543, to assist in the introduction of the Reformation into Cologne. He gave the same advice in London, in 1548, when he was called thither, with Bucer and Martyr of Strasburg, as a counsellor on the Reformation in

England. Nor did he recede from his position when, in 1550, he became superintendent of the Reformed Churches, composed of fugitives, in London; though his opposition to the laws of Edward VI., enjoining uniformity of worship, put the security of his Church in jeopardy.

Important as Lasky regarded a thorough reformation in public worship to be, he laid more stress still upon the introduction of a rigid system of Church government. This was rendered the more necessary through the numerous sectaries (Anabaptists) that had taken refuge in Emden. These insisted on strict discipline, and repudiated the Evangelical Church for the want of it. Besides, the government of Spain, to which the Netherlands were subject, had become suspicious of East Friesland, for affording an asylum to so many adherents of the Reformation that had fled from persecution, and threatened to suspend all intercourse, unless the duchess would take measures to restrain the progress of the sects. Cowardly and mercenary courtiers, from fear of the emperor, then began to oppose and persecute the sectaries, which forced many of them to enter the established Church. Lasky proved himself to be their true friend. He treated them with extraordinary meekness and wisdom, and did what he could to secure to them the rights of citizenship. Lasky also improved the occasion to perfect the organization of his congregation, and of the Church in general, in East Friesland (1544). He resolved upon introducing a well-ordered system of government and

discipline, as the most efficient means to restore order and prosperity to the established Church, which was torn and languishing from the divisions and confusion caused by the sects. "I declare again," says he, "that we can never get rid of the sects, if we deal rigidly with others, but tolerate vice among ourselves." He determined, therefore, upon a separation of all those from the communion of the State Church who refused to come to the knowledge of the truth, and persisted in despising the authority of God. As, on the one hand, he reproached popery with an attempt to suppress the spiritual office, instituted by Christ, by establishing an arrogant hierarchy, so, on the other, he repudiated the advocates of insubordination in the Church; because, in the abuse of Gospel liberty, they endeavored to set aside what he called the *nerve of all Church government*, namely, the lawful use of Church discipline, which was likewise instituted by Christ, and retained and handed down to us by the apostles.

But the attempt to carry out his purpose met with decided opposition on the part of the Duchess Anna's counsellors. Yet Lasky persevered; and, after much conflict, succeeded (1544) in inducing the duchess, in imitation of the order introduced by Calvin into the Church of Geneva, to institute a *presbytery*, or *consistory*, for the exercise of discipline in the Church, namely, "to associate with the pastor (or pastors) *four citizens* (ouderlingen or elders), who, in the judgment of the pastor, are of good repute, and lead a pious life;

and who shall be empowered by the congregation, in conjunction with the pastor, to inquire into the conduct of the people, to remind each one of his duty, and, in extreme cases, to excommunicate those, in the name of the whole congregation, who despise all admonition." As a guide to the consistory, or presbytery, in the performance of its duties, Lasky published a book of discipline, in 1545, prepared with the aid of the "constitution" of the Church in Geneva and Cologne, in which he fully unfolded his views on Church order and Church discipline; being firmly resolved that, if his congregation would not endure such discipline, they might indeed drive him away, but that knowingly he would not spare or favor any man.

At the same time, Lasky, patterning after the constitution of the Church in Strasburg, Geneva, and Cologne, organized the *Cætus* (or Ministerium), "for the promotion of Christian unity." This was developed, in the course of time, into the *synods*, as subsequently organized in the Reformed Church. The *Cætus* consisted of all the ministers of the principality, nearly 200, and met once a week, during the summer, in Emiden. Elders were not included. The officers were a president and secretary; the president being chosen for a year. After the assembly had been opened with prayer, inquiry was made into the morals, doctrine, and life of each minister, in rotation, and the condition of his church discussed; as many being called up at each meeting as time would allow. The examination of candidates for the ministry followed,

who were required also to preach before the Cœtus. Then came discussions, especially on controverted doctrines. Finally, complaints were considered, and disposed of by a vote of the majority. The Cœtus was continued, under this form, for the space of *forty* years, and proved to be a means of great good to the Church. It was suppressed, in 1583, by the Duke Edzard, who was inclined to Lutheranism, "to the sorrow of all the pious, and to the great injury of the Church of God;" but was restored again, after a short interval, and, according to Max Gœbel, still exists in the Reformed Church of East Friesland.

Feeling the necessity of a confession of faith adapted to the wants of the Frisian Reformed Church, Lasky drew up a catechism, about the year 1548, on the basis of the catechism of Calvin, the Latin translation of which had been dedicated to the Church of East Friesland, in 1545. This catechism, known as the Emden catechism, was simple, beautiful, and comprehensive. It was subsequently used in all the foreign Reformed Churches; and, in addition to the catechism of Geneva, rendered important service to Ursinus in the preparation of the Heidelberg Catechism.

Through the teaching and personal influence of Lasky, and through the efficient reformatory measures which he instituted and sustained with remarkable decision and wisdom, as superintendent of ecclesiastical affairs during a period of four years, and as pastor of the Reformed Church of Emden for seven years, from 1542 to 1549, the

errors of Rome were completely abolished in the principality, and Church order, peace, and prosperity, were restored. The Reformed Church was not only firmly established, but Emden became also the mother and model of the Reformation in the Netherlands, and especially of the *German* Reformed Churches, bearing a relation to these similar to that which Geneva bore, through Calvin, to the Reformed Church of England and Scotland. Most justly did Emden receive the honorary title: *The asylum of the oppressed and dispersed Church of God*. For, not only did the Reformed Church become strong and prosperous throughout East Friesland, but, being easily accessible from all directions, opening her doors wide, and offering a safe abode to the exiles from England, France, and the Netherlands, who, during this period, were driven from their homes by fiery persecutions; conducting an extensive correspondence with neighboring congregations; and sending out a large number of ministers, to supply spiritual destitutions; she became a centre of light to the whole evangelical Church of Western Europe.

But scarcely had this state of prosperity begun, when it was interrupted, and its destruction was threatened, by the forcible introduction of the Interim, in 1549.¹ To this Lasky could not think

¹ The *Formula ad Interim*, an edict of the Emperor Charles V., drawn up, at his direction, by Pflugius, Bishop of Maumburg, Michael Sidonius, and Agricola, Professor of Theology in Wittenberg, was proclaimed at the Diet of Augsburg, on the 15th of March, 1548 — an imperial creed, which allowed

of submitting. He had already resigned the office of superintendent, in 1546, because he saw that he could not carry out his principles of Church government and discipline in all the churches of the principality. Now he was constrained also to resign the office of pastor of the Reformed Church of Emden, and leave the country; and, although the Interim was in force only for three years, till 1552, yet the reformed mode of worship was suppressed for the time, and the free development and extension of the Church was materially checked.¹

The fact has been already alluded to, that, at the invitation of Cranmer,² Lasky visited England,

the cup in the administration of the Lord's Supper to the Protestant laity, permitted ministers or priests to enter the married state, and conceded several other Protestant views, but retained all the essential doctrines of the Church of Rome; and was designed as a temporary rule or formulary of faith and worship, until a general council should terminate all the religious differences of the empire. It was not satisfactory either to Protestants or papists; but was enforced, in many cities and States of Germany, by means of threats or by force of arms, and resulted in much suffering among conscientious Protestants, and in civil commotions, and even threatened a general war.

¹ On the other hand, however, the Interim was overruled for good. The Reformed Church, as also the foreign Reformed Churches, of East Friesland, independent of the civil power, could unfold the principles of their ecclesiastical polity without restraint. There is still, up to this day, a prosperous French Reformed Church in Emden, existing under a genuine form of presbyterial government.

² Henry's *Life and Times of John Calvin*, vol. ii. p. 346. *The History of the Prayer-Book of the Church of England*, 2d ed., Oxford, p. 50.

in 1548, as counsellor, (together with Bucer and Martyr, then holding respectively the office of King's Professor of Theology in the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge), touching the formation of the Book of Common Prayer. After remaining a short time, he returned to Emden, where he abode a year longer; but, owing to the Lutherans obtaining the upper hand in Friesland, he did not formally resume the duties of his office. When expelled, in 1549, by the introduction of the Interim, and an imperial proclamation, he first repaired to his friend Hardenberg, in Bremen. There he received and accepted a call to become pastor of the newly established foreign Reformed Church of London, composed of German and French fugitives from the Netherlands. Some of these had fled to England, for the free exercise of religion, as early as 1544, and gradually increased by new accessions to their number. In 1548, they began to hold regular divine service, in private houses; but, in 1550, the church of St. Augustine was appropriated to their use, and the foreign organization¹ secured a formal acknowledgment at the hands of the government. Another foreign reformed organization, composed of Italians, soon became associated with this one. In 1550, Lasky,

¹ Like the French *réfugiés*, at a later period, these fugitives were mostly industrious and wealthy merchants and manufacturers, that is, lace weavers and lace merchants; and were indebted, in a great measure, to their skill and trade in this department of manufactures, for their favorable reception in England. Edward VI. granted the rights of citizenship to 380 members of these foreign Reformed Churches.

the champion of their rights, became the superintendent or head of these foreign churches, and the overseer of their schools.

Here Lasky found a desirable opportunity to establish a Church government, the principles of which were developed from the constitution of the Church in Zurich, Geneva, Emden, and Cologne. The generous king, Edward VI., was pleased to grant these foreign congregations a charter of rights (*Privilegium*, 1550), which exempted them from the operation of the existing law, requiring uniformity of belief and Church order, and guaranteed to them freedom of conscience in doctrine and worship. The Church increasing gradually, numbered at length from three to four thousand souls, and had four pastors, who preached in two or three different languages. Composed of Germans and French, the Church was from the beginning divided into two congregations, each holding its own public worship, using its own language, catechism, liturgy, and hymn-book, and having its own consistory. But the congregations were bound together by a common superintendent, by a common fatherland, common trials and sufferings, and a common faith; also by a common council, composed of the two consistories, which met once a month to discuss matters pertaining to the general interests of the whole Church. Beyond the control of bishops, unaffected by the civil law relating to the Church, and yet protected by government, they held their own constitution, made their own laws, elected their own pastors and Church officers,

and thus were free to develop a genuine form of presbyterial polity. But, separated from the world by difference of language and manners and sympathies, and from the reigning Church by different views in doctrine, worship, and discipline, they became rather austere and exclusive in character; and, having been condemned, persecuted, and driven about, both by the Lutherans and Roman Catholics, the reaction against corruption in doctrine and worship was somewhat extreme. They not only abolished popish ceremonies, priestly vestments, candles, pictures, and the confessional, but were, it would seem, equally averse to the altar, the organ, the bell, and the kneeling posture in prayer. Notwithstanding these slight blemishes, which are to be regarded as the natural effect of their circumstances and previous history, this organization constituted a more than ordinary exemplification of the true Church of Christ. In addition to the preaching of a pure Gospel, the administration of the sacraments, the careful instruction of youth, and godly living: it combined, also, to a very high degree, the principles of authority and freedom, requiring each member to be subject to the order of the Church, and exercising a most rigid discipline; yet maintaining liberty of conscience for all who were outside of its communion. The charter of Edward, guaranteeing the rights of the foreign Reformed Church in London, did not continue in force for more than four years (1550-53); yet this comprehensive presbyterial polity was so fully matured and confirmed, during this

short time, that, when the Church was dispersed along the Maine and the Rhine, and elsewhere, these principles were transplanted and perpetuated, and gave tone afterwards to the whole Reformed Church in the western part of the continent.¹

The death of Edward VI., the protector of the foreigners, put an end to their prosperous Church organization. As soon as the bloody Mary ascended the throne, she revoked their charter, and required them to submit to the Church of England, or leave her dominions. With a part of his German congregation, some Frenchmen, Englishmen, and Scotchmen, 175 persons in all, Lasky took ship, in October, 1553, and sailed for Denmark, in the hope of meeting with a friendly reception. The ship was wrecked in a storm. Lasky ran into the harbor of Elsinore. The severe treatment which this suffering band of wandering exiles received from the Lutherans in Elsinore, Copenhagen, Rostock, Wismar, Lübeck, and Hamburg, is matter of history.² The king of Denmark, Christian III.,³ treated Lasky respectfully, and

¹ Did space permit, it would be interesting and instructive to give a full account of the principles embodied in the organization of these foreign reformed congregations, under Lasky, in London. The reader is referred, for more particular information, to the *Geschichte des christlichen Lebens in der rheinisch-westphälischen evangelischen Kirche, von Max Gæbel*, vol. i, pp. 335-44.

² Church History, by Herveg, vol. i. pp. 89-94. Mosheim's Church History, vol. ii. p. 112, Coote's ed., 1832. Henry's Life of Calvin, vol. ii. p. 277.

³ It was a sense of gratitude, accordingly, as well as a sense of right, that prompted Lasky to address a communication to

extended some favors to his family. At first, he seemed also to lend a favorable ear to Lasky's application on behalf of the fugitives, to make their abode in the country. But Peter Noviomagus, the court-preacher, disappointed their hopes. On Sunday, Nov. 10th, he preached a sermon on the epistle for the day (Phil. 3, 17-21), in which he urged the expulsion of the fugitives from the country. They were fanatics, sacramentarians, and most dangerous heretics; for they denied the bodily presence of Christ in the sacrament of the altar. Both their doctrines and character, according to Herveg, were painted in the darkest colors. The result was, that, on Monday following, an edict was issued, enjoining upon superintendents, abbots, priors, and preachers, and upon all the knights, squires, and bailiffs, that, if any stranger appear before them, and desire to enter into their service, or establish himself in any city or any part of the country, they first ascertain whence he is, what his profession and what his faith, in order that they take no one into service, and permit no one to locate anywhere, who was an Anabaptist or Sacramentarian (Reformed).

Lasky asked for the privilege to defend his community against the aspersions of Noviomagus; but the request was evaded. He then plead for permission to remain over winter. It could not be given. The exiles received command immediately

the king, in which he set forth, in detail, and with manly decision, the great injustice which he had done to him and his fugitive Church.

to re-embark. Even the women, with children at their breasts, were not allowed to wait for calmer weather. Force was quickly employed to drive them into the ship, or beyond the boundary line; and this in spite of all their prayers to be allowed to remain to the end of winter.¹ In Germany, they were also treated as enemies of the country and of the Church. Westphal called the members of Lasky's exiled community, *the devil's martyrs*. Bugenhagen refused to acknowledge them as Christians, and they were told that papists could be better endured than they. The hatred of the Lutherans pursued the wanderers to Lübeck and Rostock. Many preachers branded the exiles with the name of heretics, and thus excited the populace against them. They were also decried as Anabaptists by the clergy, and the magistrates were therefore compelled to deny them a place of shelter.

Driven from city to city, and tossed upon the sea, Lasky did not find a place of shelter for these suffering, homeless Christians, till 1554, when, after much difficulty, he secured a temporary abode for them in East Friesland, Frankfurt, Strasburg, Wesel, and some other cities. Lasky himself, with the members of his foreign *German*

¹ Henry's Life of Calvin, vol. ii. pp. 277-78. The condition of Lasky greatly affected Calvin. Addressing him, he says: "The cruel conduct of Denmark affects me bitterly. Great God! what an instance of barbarity among a Christian people! It surpassed even the fury of the waves." He praised Lasky's moderation and firmness.

Church, were cordially received by his old friends at Emden. His children were allowed to remain in Hamburg till spring. The duchess, however, and her court, treated Lasky coolly. His strict views of Church order and Christian life, which had become more decided during his residence in England, and the imprudent zeal of some of the foreigners against organs and altars, gave offence. Under the pretext that his continuance in Friesland was offensive to the Spanish court, and therefore dangerous to the country, he was banished the following year. About this time, too, he lost his property, through the dishonesty of a relative — a misfortune that he bore with the greatest resignation.

He left, and came to Frankfurt-on-the-Maine, in April, 1555. But he bore along with him into exile the warmest affections of his Emden congregation and his ministerial brethren of Friesland. They looked upon him as their head, and supported him by their contributions, which he cheerfully accepted. At Frankfurt Lasky was kindly received. Hither the *French* reformed congregation had fled from London, in 1554. The magistrates, then favorably disposed towards them, extended the hospitality of the city. They obtained possession of a church, which was used by them in connection with a congregation of English Non-conformists, that had escaped secretly. Lasky now obtained permission also, on behalf of his *German* congregation, to make their abode in Frankfurt. Another church was appropriated to the use of the

Puritans; and the French and German congregations again worshipped together in the same building.¹

In the midst of the evangelical Lutheran Church, Lasky now renewed his former efforts to restore peace between the Lutherans and Reformed; and prosecuted his efforts with fresh zeal, because he regarded the continuation of the controversy as unjustifiable, unchristian, and very injurious. And he had good reason to hope for success. He was really concerned to do both parties justice. His views of the Lord's Supper were those of Calvin, and he was willing to subscribe the (altered) Augsburg Confession. Besides, he stood high in the estimation of those upon whom the final result mainly depended—of Melancthon, Calvin, and Bullinger, of Otto Henry, Elector of the Palatinate, and of Philip, the Landgrave of Hesse. Forgiving all the wrongs he had suffered at the hands of the Lutherans, he labored and argued for peace, extended the hand of Christian brotherhood, and begged them to accept it; but it was refused. Through the opposition and influence of Brentius, mainly, all his hopes were frustrated.

At length, after an absence of nineteen years, the way was open for Lasky's return to Poland. At the diet held in 1556, the important law was passed, that it should be lawful for any nobleman to introduce the observance of the evangelical ser-

¹ This is the origin of the flourishing French and German Reformed Church of Frankfort, that has been perpetuated to the present time.

vice into his house ; and Rome was called upon to correct the abuses with which it was charged. After publishing a revised edition of his book of Church order and discipline, in Frankfort, which he dedicated to the king, the senate, and the diet of Poland, he proceeded to Wittenberg, to confer with Melancthon : the latter gave him a letter to the King of Poland, exhorting him to promote the Reformation in that country. On his return (1556), the enterprising Lasky, though fifty-eight years of age, was wholly devoted to accomplishing the work of reform in his native land. He wrote on the subject, demonstrating the necessity of abolishing the Roman hierarchy (Dec. 1556). But nothing was left undone to make him an object of suspicion to the king : it was even reported that he was a determined enemy to Poland, and that he was engaged in collecting troops to effect a revolution. These reports made some impression on the monarch, till, meeting with one of Lasky's relatives, who opened his eyes to the truth, he observed :¹ "You know that such movements and disturbances frequently lead to the ruin of States. Say, therefore, to Lasky : Carry on the work of religion among yourselves, and in a short time you will see that I look more to the help of God than to that of men."

But, at the next diet, the affair was again deferred. Still, though standing alone, Lasky did not relax his efforts, but went boldly forward. Various successes and various reverses followed.

¹ Henry's Life of Calvin, pp. 347-49.

We cannot go into particulars. Yet there was general progress in the work of reform. A synod was assembled by the Catholics at Lowicz, in which the abuses of the Church were spoken of with great boldness. But it was not till 1559 that an attempt was made to exclude the bishops from the senate. This proved fruitless. The decrees of the Council of Trent, however, were utterly rejected by the diet. Thus, the struggle between the two parties continued for years, without any decisive event. Lasky died in 1560, and saw no definite result from his faithful labors. But, by the energetic and persevering efforts which he had put forth, he laid the foundation for the settlement subsequently agreed upon at Sandomir (1570).

John de Lasky, the Polish nobleman and bold reformer, was a strong man and a devout Christian. His conversion was not, like that of Calvin and Luther, a sudden change wrought by an overwhelming power, but, like that of Zwingli, a gradual passing over from darkness into light, by means of Christian instruction. Hence, his religious life was not a vehement impulse, bearing him along against all opposition, but rather a quiet power, deliberate and clear, but firm and unshaken. The character of Lasky may be said to be the peculiar blending of seemingly contradictory elements. In philosophy a disciple of Erasmus, and of one mind with Luther as to the inner life of religion, he was in theology and worship a Zwinglian, and in Church government and discipline a Calvinist. Decided in his theological opinions, firm in his

opposition to error, and rigid in his views of moral conduct, he was nevertheless not censorious, but treated those who differed from him with great mildness and forbearance, especially for the age in which he lived: he accorded conscientious convictions even to his violent opponents, and, cherishing an humble opinion of his own spiritual progress, he urged the necessity of making allowances for the moral deficiencies in the character of others. We may mention, particularly, the meekness with which he bore the virulent persecution of Westphal, who called him and his fugitive Church, *the devil's martyrs*, and the forbearance with which he treated the enemies of Church order, in Emden (1542-49), the leaders, namely, of the resident Anabaptists, Menno Simon and David Joris. Such a spirit led him to study the things that make for peace. He regarded it as one of his first duties to promote harmony and love among his brethren. Like Melancthon and Calvin, he was, accordingly, most earnestly devoted to the cause of uniting the two branches of the Reformation. Nor was he shaken in his purpose or zeal by the harsh treatment or repeated persecutions of his opponents. Hence, in the presence of theologians, princes, and kings, he vindicated the right of the reformed to be tolerated and acknowledged, and especially of his church of foreigners.

In one particular only was he rigid and unyielding. The careful study of the Scriptures, and his own experience, had led him to the firm conviction, that organization and discipline were essential to

a true Church of Christ. Disorder and irregular living in the Church he could not endure. Tolerant and yielding as to questions of doctrine and worship, he demanded most decidedly an organization of the Church that was in all respects conformable to the principles and spirit of the New Testament. To introduce such a scriptural organization into his Church, and maintain it, he regarded, accordingly, as the great mission of his life. In this respect, he held a middle place between the separatistic Anabaptists, on the one hand, and the Lutherans, on the other, who were without any organization. Thus, he rendered possible, on German soil, the founding of the Reformed Church, which combines the truth of both tendencies. He not only rendered it possible, but actually accomplished it. It constitutes the chief merit and honor of Lasky, that he fixed his eye steadily on the development and true organization of the whole Church, which is the body of Christ. Nor could any suspicions, or opposition, or animosity, ever cause him to swerve from his purpose. Of this his whole life is the proof.

Renouncing the brightest worldly prospects, as one of the most wealthy and prominent Polish noblemen; declining the offer of the richest and most influential bishoprics in his native land; casting in his lot for many years with the suffering followers of Jesus Christ, who were driven from shore to shore; sympathizing with and befriending the persecuted for conscience' sake, even though they had been his opponents and defamers; rigid

towards himself, but forbearing and yielding towards others, because truly unassuming and humble; never seeking his own temporal interests, but sacrificing his time and energies, his wealth and all, to the scriptural organization and growth of the Church, amid a series of persecutions the most virulent, and of trials the most severe; banished time and again for preaching Christ and insisting on Church order, and stripped of his property, yet resigned to his afflictions, forgiving towards his enemies, and unshaken in his devotion to the Word of God and the cause of Christ:—the key-note of such moral heroism, and so self-denying and honorable a life, is given in his own language, uttered in 1555: “Licht ist allein in Christus, welcher den ganzen Menschen erleuchtet, und desshalb ist alles Finsterniss, was ausser Christus und seinem Worte gelernt, gelehrt und gehalten wird.”

FREDERICK III.

1515—1576.

“Fritz, du bist frommer denn wir alle!”

AUGUSTUS, PRINCE OF SAXONY.

FREDERICK III., Elector of the Palatinate, and with great propriety surnamed “the pious,” though not an ecclesiastic, must here find a place among the Fathers of the Reformed Church. His active and beautiful life is not only a triumphant answer to the taunting question, “Have any of the rulers believed in Him?” but is necessary to a proper understanding of the origin and genius of the German Reformed Church, and its excellent symbol, the Heidelberg Catechism, as well as the lives and labors of Ursinus and Olevianus.

Frederick was born, February 14th, 1515, at Simmern, on the Hunsrück, in the Rhine province, where his father, the Palatine John II., possessed the provinces of Beldenz, Sponheim, and part of Simmern. His father was a man of scientific cultivation, and an ardent friend and protector of the learned. He continued an adherent of the old faith, and his twelve children were educated in the faith of the Catholic Church.

Our Frederick, his oldest son, was reared at the court of the decidedly churchly Bishop Eberhard of Lüttich and of the Emperor Charles V., which, however, did not prevent him from becoming familiar with the doctrines of the Reformation. His betrothal with the Lutheran princess, Maria of Brandenburg-Bairuth, in the year 1537, was the occasion of his declaring himself openly in favor of the new doctrine.

He was forty-two years of age when, at the death of his father, the government of the Simmern provinces devolved upon him. Two years later, at the imperial Diet of Augsburg, he was invested with the electorate of the Palatinate. In this domain, where, under his predecessor, the doctrines of Luther had been introduced, there was waged, a short time previous to his entering upon the government, an earnest controversy between the Lutherans, on the one side, and the Calvinists and Zwinglians, on the other—these last being largely represented, in the University of Heidelberg, in those professorships which were not theological. The fanatical Tielman Hesshus, whom Otto Henry, on the recommendation of Melanchthon, had called to the office of superintendent, found, in the Zwinglian views, which were favored by some of the ministers, occasion for violent polemics, which he failed not to disseminate in his writings, and from the pulpit. The elector commanded peace, and attempted to mediate, but it was all in vain. He now sought the advice of Melanchthon. He condemned the measures of Hesshus, and proposed a

mediating formula of faith, which should approach essentially nearer the reformed doctrine of the Lord's Supper. This exerted a decided influence upon the development of the Church of the Palatinate. Frederick III. was himself strengthened in his own inclination towards the Reformed confession, and he was resolved upon introducing Melancthon's formula generally into his dominions, and to labor for gradually supplanting strenuous Lutheranism. The opposition of theologians, and the dissuasions of Lutheran princes, among whom were also his sons-in-law, the Dukes of Saxe-Gotha and Weimar, did not move him from his purpose, but only strengthened his zeal the more. Moreover, the body of the people favored the new views. A religious conference, held at Heidelberg (1560), at the instance of his sons-in-law, completed his conversion to Calvinism.

In this renovation, the beginning was made in the cultus: not only were the festivals in honor of Mary and the saints, together with images, abolished, but, in the warmth and force of the first zeal to fly from all the old errors, altars, baptismal fonts, organs, and singing in the old style, were set aside. Persecuted Calvinists were called and appointed as professors and ministers. For the supervision of ecclesiastical affairs, a consistory was instituted, comprising three civil and three spiritual counsellors: the last three, Olevianus, Boquinus, and Tossanus, were zealous adherents of the reformed doctrines. The entire spiritual power was committed into the hands of this consistory; and,

in a few years, the work of reformation, in the Calvinistic sense, was carried through with great zeal. Securing the entire control of Church property was an important step; and in this way the elector vastly increased his financial means. The income from this source, however, was not used for outward State purposes, but was devoted to the endowment of churches, schools, and hospitals.

The most important part of this reform was the preparation of a new catechism, by means of which the system of belief might be firmly established. The elector laid this work, in which he himself took zealous part, upon two theologians, Ursinus and Olevianus, who are to be regarded as the most prominent representatives of the new tendencies. As early as the close of the year 1562, the draught of the catechism was so far completed that it could be laid before a synod of the Palatinate ministers. These approved of it, and it was immediately published and introduced into general use. Though, as a whole, it was composed in a mild and conciliatory spirit, still, in the questions concerning the Lord's Supper, it set aside the Lutheran doctrine very definitely; and thus the Palatinate Church was set free from Lutheranism, in a very decided way, and stood in the ranks with the other Reformed Churches in the land. This Palatinate, or Heidelberg, catechism found such favor with the Reformed in other countries, that its use became nearly universal, and it was translated into the most of the Germanic and Romanic languages.

At the same time, there was also a new liturgy

prepared and issued, which reduced the public service nearly to sermon and prayer. Although the introduction of Calvinism into the Palatinate could now be regarded as a fixed fact, several Lutheran princes made various attempts to effect a retrograde movement. Duke Christoph of Würtemberg, the friend of Frederick, still entertaining a hope that the dogmatic differences between the two confessions might be reconciled, sought and procured a religious conference between the theologians of Würtemberg and the Palatinate, which was held in April, 1564, in Maulbronn, in the presence of both princes. That no agreement would be reached, might have been anticipated. Instead of losing his Calvinistic convictions, he was only more fully weaned away from Lutheranism. When the theologians based their doctrines upon the authority of Luther, he replied: "Luther was no apostle, and could also err."

Other Lutheran princes sought to intimidate the elector with threats of legal power, and thus turn him from the path which he had chosen. They declared their intention, at the next Imperial Diet, to hand over to the emperor a full statement on ecclesiastical affairs, and to propose that the elector be excluded from the imperial States. They actually brought matters so far as to induce the mild emperor, Maximilian II., to issue a decree requiring from the elector indemnification on account of the innovations introduced into the bishopric of Worms, and demanding of him to abolish Calvinism. Deposition from the electorate was spoken of—yea,

even punishment by death! The time of the imperial Diet of Augsburg now approached, when he was to give account of his doings. His brother Richard warned him earnestly not to attend. He, however, remembered the strong faith of the Elector John Frederick of Saxony, and wrote to his brother: "I know that the same God who then kept him in the right and true knowledge of His Gospel, still lives, and is mighty also to keep me, a poor and simple man, and will certainly keep me by His holy Spirit, even though matters should proceed so far as to cost blood; which, if it should please my dear Father in heaven to bring me to such honor, I could never sufficiently praise Him for it, either here in time, or yonder in eternity."

With such confidence in God, he went firmly to the Diet at Augsburg, in May, 1566; and, followed by his son John Casimer, who, as his "spiritual armor-bearer," carried the Bible and the Augsburg Confession after him, he appeared in the assembly of the princes, to defend himself, his catechism, and his doings.

After the charges against him had all been presented, he withdrew for a quarter of an hour, and then returned with his defence. What words are here! What sentiments to fall from the lips of a prince! What is here produced in fifteen minutes reflects more true glory on the name of the elector, than most princes acquire from the achievements of a lifetime. Amid all the glittering crowns that dazzle around him, he sees "none but Jesus;" acknowledges only His power; seeks only His glory.

Hear his words, and let none of them be lost :
“Although I have hitherto not been able to come to a perfectly clear understanding of the precise points in regard to which charges have been presented against me, and requisitions made, yet so much I promise myself from the reasonableness of His Imperial Majesty, that he will not commence the process by executing the sentence, but that he will graciously hear and weigh the defence I shall make ; which, if it were required, I would be ready to make, undaunted, in the midst of the market-place, in this town. So far as matters of a religious nature are involved, I confess freely that, in those things which concern the conscience, I acknowledge as Master only Him who is Lord of lords and King of kings. For the question here is not in regard to a cap of flesh (*cappu carnis*), but it pertains to the soul and its salvation, for which I am indebted alone to my Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and which, as His gift, I will sacredly preserve. Therefore, I cannot grant your venerable Imperial Majesty the right of standing in the place of my God and Saviour.

“What men understand by Calvinism, I do not know : this I can say, with a pure conscience, that I have never read Calvin’s writings. But the agreement of Frankfurt, and the Augsburg Confession, I signed at Raumburg, together with the other princes, of whom the majority are here present. In this faith I continue firmly, on no other ground than because I find it established in the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments.

Nor do I believe that any one can successfully show that I have done or received anything that stands opposed to that formulary. *But that my catechism, word for word, is drawn, not from human but from divine sources, the references that stand in the margin will show. For this reason, also, certain theologians have in vain wearied themselves in attacking it, since it has been shown them, by the open Scriptures, how baseless is their opposition.* What I have elsewhere publicly declared to your Imperial Majesty, in a full assembly of the princes, namely, that, if any one, of whatever age, station, or class he may be, even the humblest, can teach me something better from the Holy Scriptures, I will thank him from the bottom of my heart, and readily be obedient to the divine truth; that I repeat now, in the presence of this assembly of the whole empire. If there be any one here, among my lords and friends, who will undertake it, I am prepared to hear him, and here are the Holy Scriptures at hand. Should it please your Imperial Majesty to undertake this task, I would regard it as the greatest favor, and acknowledge it with suitable gratitude. With this, my explanation, I hope your Imperial Majesty will be satisfied, even as also your Imperial Majesty's father, the Emperor Ferdinand, of blessed memory, was not willing to do violence to my conscience, however pleasant it would have been to him, had I consented to attend the popish mass at the imperial coronation, at Frankfurt. Should, contrary to my expectations, my defence, and the Christian and reasonable conditions which I have

proposed, not be regarded of any account, I shall comfort myself in this, that my Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ has promised to me, and to all who believe, that whatsoever we lose on earth for His name's sake, we shall receive an hundred-fold in the life to come."

These words of the elector made a very favorable impression. All gazed with wonder at the great-hearted prince. Only one of the bishops murmured something to himself about the mass, which is so sharply rejected in the eightieth question of the catechism. Prince Augustus of Saxony said that there had been too much hasty action in this matter; and, approaching Frederick, he tapped him softly upon the shoulder, and said: "FRITZ, THOU ART MORE PIOUS THAN ALL OF US TOGETHER!" The Margrave of Baden, at the close of the assembly, expressed himself in the same manner, saying: "Why do you attack this prince? he is more pious than us all."

Frederick was now left unmolested. Five days later, the princes handed in to the emperor this public declaration: "That the elector has, it is true, a different view of the Holy Supper from the Augsburg Confession, but, in regard to justification, and in most other points, he agrees with it; and, further, that they are not willing to exclude Frederick or any one else, in or outside of Germany, from the religious peace." The elector, after the emperor had graciously taken leave of him, returned in peace and safety to his beloved Heidelberg.

Towards other heretics, as the Anabaptists, Frederick manifested great forbearance. Many scattered members of this sect were kindly received in the Palatinate. In Frankenthal there congregated a whole colony of these people, who came from the Netherlands; and these were afterwards joined by exiled Reformers from France and the Netherlands. Frederick also stood in friendly connection with the Protestants of France. The two ministers, Anton of Navarre and Condé, sought from him, and found, both counsel and help. When the Huguenot war broke out, in 1567, the son of the elector, John Casimer, entered Lothringen with an army of 11,000 men, and, for a time, aided in sustaining the Protestant cause. He extended the same sympathy and encouragement towards Holland.

Many plans, which he conceived for the advantage of the Reformed Church, in his own and in other lands, were frustrated by his death. In old age he was afflicted with dropsy, which disease also terminated his useful and eventful life. As his oldest son, Prince Ludwig, was a zealous Lutheran, he could not expect him to carry forward Church matters as he had commenced them; but he looked to his grandson, Frederick. "Lutz," he said, on his death-bed, "will not do it; Fritz will. I have done the best I could for the Church, but have not been able to accomplish much. God, the Almighty, will not suffer it to be left as an orphan. My tears and my prayers, which have often as-

cended to God for my successors and the Church, will not remain without fruit.”

The earthly existence of Frederick III. terminated on the 26th of October, 1576, only fourteen days after the death of the Emperor Maximilian II., whom he loved and sincerely mourned. After Psalm xxxi. and John xvii. were read to him, at his request, he once more prayed aloud, and, filled with joy and peace, breathed his last in the faith and favor of his Redeemer.

The history of princes furnishes few, if any, examples of piety so firm, humble, and childlike, as that of Frederick. His whole inward religious life was a beautiful exemplification of the spirit of the first question in the Heidelberg catechism—a symbol of heavenly and saving truth, which he loved more than his crown, and which he felt to be firmer and more enduring than his throne: “This is my only comfort, in life and death, that I, with body and soul, both in life and death, am not my own, but belong to my faithful Saviour, Jesus Christ, who, with His precious blood, hath fully satisfied for all my sins, and delivered me from all the power of the devil; and so preserves me, that, without the will of my Heavenly Father, not a hair can fall from my head—yea, that all things must be subservient to my salvation; and, therefore, by His holy Spirit, He also assures me of eternal life, and makes me sincerely willing and ready henceforth to live unto Him.”

With the most grateful affection has the Reformed Church ever cherished the memory of

“Frederick the pious;” nor has it yet become weary in doing him honor for his work. In Germany, arrangements have been made to celebrate the 300th anniversary of his edict, by which the mass was abolished, the celebration of the Lord’s Supper, in its original purity, substituted, and the preaching of the Gospel introduced into the dukedom of Simmern and the domains of Sponheim, from which the new power of life soon extended over the entire Palatinate. Before the gates of Simmern there has also been erected a beautiful building, intended as a monument to Frederick III., in which such children as, on account of poverty or oppression of their parents, are exposed to being led away from the faith, as also poor and neglected children in general, are to be cared for and educated. This building is to be consecrated on this anniversary, July 16, 1857—a monument worthy of the pious prince, and more in accordance with his own spirit than any meaningless column of marble, or statue of speechless, heartless brass. Well done! we say, to the sensible projectors of this work. If the Reformed Church wishes still further to honor the memory of Frederick, it cannot do it in a more appropriate and better way, than by laboring to make his blessed Heidelberg catechism rise to new life and power in the hearts of its members. Should the Reformed Church in America feel desirous of reviving old memories, in grateful connection with the Palatinate prince and his zealous love for the Church, and seek a fit occasion for such a pious purpose,

we suggest the 300th anniversary of the year and day when he, with his own Imprimatur, and with pious princely commendation, sent forth the Heidelberg catechism into the churches and schools of his dominions—January 19, 1863. How appropriate! and, what a blessing might such an occasion be made to the German Reformed Church in America!

ZACHARIAS URSINUS.

1534—1583.

THE names and lives of Zacharias Ursinus and Casper Olevianus are associated in our minds like those of Jonathan and David. They were adapted to one another, co-workers and bosom friends. Both their birth and death occurred nearly at the same time, and, accordingly, their lives extended over the same period. They belonged to the second generation of Reformers, coming upon the stage when the first earnest conflicts of the Reformation began to assume a steady character—when less of the destructive and more of the formative, less of the outward and more of the inward, was needed to carry forward the work which was now left in their hands.

The names of these two great and good men are especially associated as the authors of the Heidelberg catechism. This is the chief monumental representative of all their honor and work. In it their spirit lies embalmed, and through it they made the deepest impression upon their age, and conferred the most enduring blessings upon the Reformed Church, for all future time.

Ursinus was especially adapted in his talents

and spirit for the inward and formative work then needed. Constitutionally averse to public life, so far as it required personal contact and conflict with outward contending elements, he became, from taste and talent, a prophet of the inner circle. Here he wrought quietly, but on that very account the more powerfully, for his age, for the Church, and the Word, and especially for posterity. As Luther and Calvin struck the chords with such nervous and severe decision, that they were in danger of breaking by their sudden and terrible tremor, and Melancthon soothed and softened the vibrations by laying upon them his gentle hand, so the mild spirit of Ursinus was mighty in its gentleness, laying in quiet the deep foundations of peace, and breathing a broader charity and a fresher hope into the Christian spirit of his age.

On this account, historians have been somewhat indifferent to his outward history; and, accordingly, have left us less the details of his outward life, than the pictures and monuments of his spirit and work in the inner mission of the Church.

Ursinus was a native of Breslau, the capital of Silesia, where his father was deacon, or assistant preacher, at the Magdalen church. He was born on the 18th of July, in the year of our Lord 1534. The proper family name was Bear, which, according to a custom then prevalent among the learned, was afterwards changed into the corresponding Latin title, Ursinus. From his earliest youth, he was blessed with a strong and healthy constitution, superior talents, an ardent desire for

knowledge, and a pious disposition. In his native town, he had an opportunity of indulging, to some extent, his taste for science, which he gladly embraced, and made decided progress, especially in mathematics and philosophy—to which he was greatly indebted for that clearness and keenness of insight which afterwards characterized him. In the sixteenth year of his age, being provided with the means of support, he went, in 1550, to the celebrated university at Wittenberg, where the amiable Melanchthon then was; and where, notwithstanding all the reverence which prevailed for the recently departed Luther, the conciliatory scientific theology of Melanchthon was in power and prospering. Here Ursinus joined himself in very special and decided love to Melanchthon, whose devoted scholar he also remained during life.

He spent in all seven years at the university, though, from various causes, the course of his studies was several times interrupted for a short period. First, the breaking out of the plague at Wittenberg became the occasion of his spending a winter with his beloved teacher Melanchthon, at Torgau. In 1552, also, owing, it is thought, to the threatening aspect of the political heavens, he left the university for a short time, and returned, with honorable testimonials, to the place of his birth. In 1553, however, we find him once more in his favorite Wittenberg, where, with great diligence and success, he cultivated and indulged his decided preference for purely scientific labors,

in distinction from those which pertained to the more practical office of preaching; for, like Melanchthon, his teacher and exemplar, he valued and loved, above all else, his pious, scientific studies, which peculiar taste led him to avoid preaching, and, in a great measure, intercourse with the outward world of man.

At the university, Ursinus particularly excelled in his attainments in mathematics, classical literature, philosophy, and theology. Leaving Wittenberg, in 1557, he was anxious still farther to carry forward his course of scientific development. He first accompanied Melanchthon to the memorable conference held in that year, at Worms; whence, provided with a flattering letter of recommendation from his beloved teacher, and, what is also a strong evidence of the high esteem in which he was held in his native place, having been provided with funds from the public treasury, by the senate of Breslau, for defraying the expenses of his journey, he started on a pilgrimage, as an apprentice of letters, with the view of visiting the most renowned universities of Germany, France, and Switzerland. He visited Heidelberg, Strasburg, Basel, Zurich, Lausanne, and Geneva, and, by way of Lyons and Orleans, journeyed to the city of Paris. In these travels, it was his privilege to become acquainted with many of the leaders of the Reformation, who esteemed him very highly, and whose conversation impressed and influenced him. In Geneva he became acquainted with Calvin and Beza; in Zurich with Bullinger and

Martyr. As regards Christian doctrine, he became their decided follower, without, however, on this account, forsaking the Melanchthonian standpoint to which he had heretofore adhered. In Paris, he perfected himself in the French and Hebrew languages. After this, he went again into Switzerland, making his home, for some time, in Zurich, where he enjoyed the confidence and friendship of Bullinger, Martyr, Gessner, and other distinguished theologians, then belonging to that place.

Having returned to Wittenberg, in 1558, in September of that year he received a call from the council of Breslau as theological teacher in the Elizabethian Gymnasium, which, on account of the generosity which that town had manifested towards him, in providing him funds for his journey, he felt bound to accept. His services here for some time gave great satisfaction. As a textbook in his instructions, he made use of the ordination-book prepared by Melanchthon, in 1554, for the examination of candidates for the ministry—a book then popular, and in use in many universities. By this course, however, he soon fell under suspicion of entertaining Calvinistic views in relation to the Lord's Supper. In justification of himself, he published his first theological production, entitled "Theses on the Doctrine of the Sacraments, especially of Baptism and the Lord's Supper"—a work which gave great satisfaction to Melanchthon. He said, on this occasion: "With his learning he was previously acquainted, but, as

to knowledge in such matters, he had hitherto seen nothing so brilliant as that which he had found in the writings of Ursinus." The zealots for high Lutheranism, at a time when Lutheran Germany was in a general hurricane of excitement, occasioned by the second sacramental war, which finally resulted in its rupture into two confessions, were very jealous in regard to Calvinism; and sympathy with Melanchthon's views regarding the Eucharist was regarded as secret Calvinism. His defence did not quiet the clergy of the place, who had raised an alarm in regard to his orthodoxy. He had plainly advanced to a deeper knowledge, on this central point, than that possessed by his masters; and, instead of suffering themselves to be moulded by him, they turned against him. Melanchthon exhorted them to peace, but they ceased not to reproach him as a sacramentarian. Being naturally averse to strife and commotion, he began to look around him for peace and quiet; and, having sought leave of absence, which he also obtained in an honorable way, he left Breslau, having given promise to the magistrates, however, who greatly desired to retain him, in spite of all the clamor that had been raised against him, that he would return again when desired.

When he was about leaving, Roth, his uncle, asked him whither he would now go? to whom, in the spirit of true resignation, he gave the cheerful answer: "Not unwillingly do I leave my fatherland, when it will not suffer the confession of truth,

which I cannot surrender with a good conscience. If my best teacher, Philip, still lived"—he had just died—"I would go nowhere else but to him. Now, that he is dead, I will turn to the Zurichers, who, it is true, are not here in great repute, but who have so honorable a name with other Churches, that it cannot be obscured by our preachers. They are pious, learned, great men, with whom I have already resolved to spend my life. God will provide for the rest."

Sustained in his outward way by his early friend and patron, John Crato, he started on his journey, a pilgrim in the holy cause of peace and love. In passing through Wittenberg, he declined the invitation of his friends there to become their colleague; and, in the autumn of 1560, he arrived in Zurich, where he associated himself anew with his former friends, especially with Peter Martyr, one of the most distinguished, mild, and decided of the Reformed theologians, to whom he now sustained a relation very similar to that in which he had previously stood towards Melancthon, and upon whose recommendation, and in whose stead, he was appointed, in 1562, by Frederick III., Professor of Philosophy, in Heidelberg, whereupon, in that same year, he was also made Doctor and Professor of Theology.

Here was a new field, and one in which Ursinus was destined to accomplish his greatest work. At first, he also preached in Heidelberg, but this he soon gave up, both for want of time and talent for the work; and, after 1568, he devoted himself ex-

clusively to the profession of teaching. Although only twenty-eight years of age, Ursinus was, in every respect, ripe, as a man and a Christian, as a learned man and a theologian. With deep and decided piety, and with a cheerful confidence of spirit, he gave himself, with all his learning, wholly and without reserve, to the service of the Lord and Saviour. He acknowledges positively, "that he was no more his own master, having become the property of another; and he that gives himself over to God, as His possession, will receive salvation from Him, but whoever seeks to withdraw from Him will also fail of salvation." The groundwork of his Christian life was the cheerful consciousness of unconditional dependence upon God, and that inward gratitude towards Him which springs from the rich experience of His grace. His whole life was a constant walking before the Lord, in prayer, and in the strict and unwearied fulfilment of every duty. Modest and silent, never did any one hear from him an unnecessary word. The extraordinary love and attachment of his pupils was the pleasant reward of his diligence. A most conscientious teacher, he required of his pupils, after every hour of instruction, to present to him, in writing, any points of doubt and difficulty that remained on their minds, that he might consider them at home, and, at the next lecture, answer them to their satisfaction. Feeling the value of time, in order that he might not be too much disturbed in his labors by lengthy visits, he wrote above the door of his study:

“Friend, whoever you may be, when you come to me,
Make your matter short, or leave me soon,
Or assist me in my work.”

On this account, Ursinus was not easily approached, and, whenever unnecessarily disturbed, he was easily displeased.

In nature and in history, storms are often the precursors of quiet and peace. The violence of high Lutheran zealots, if it did not occasion, hastened the transfer of the Palatinate, in one broad sweep, into the bosom of the Reformed faith and life. The Melanchthonian type of Lutheranism reigned in the Palatinate; and when the alternative, whether the views and spirit of Hesshus and Klebiz, or of Melanchthon and Calvin, should be its hope and home, was forced upon them, both the prince and the people had no difficulty in deciding in favor of the latter. After the public discussion of the points involved, in June, 1560, Frederick's mind was fully made up to establish the Reformed faith in his dominions. A catechism or symbol was needed. By a wonderful working of the Divine Spirit, always the formative power in history, the peculiar Christian life of the Palatinate had clearly reached a stage of development alike above Lutheranism and Zwinglianism; and it was necessary for the catechism to be of a type, not to unite these, but to embody and express the deepest and best elements of both, which history had already made one in a ground deeper than that upon which their separation rested. Upon the production of such a catechism, the pious prince had set

his heart. For such a work, God had already provided him the right men, Ursinus and Olevianus, his theological professor and his court-preacher.

In order to accomplish the work laid upon them by the prince, Olevianus, as well as Ursinus, composed a special treatise — Olevianus his “Divine Covenant of Grace, and Ursinus, after Luther’s example, a smaller and larger catechism, in which he made essential use of the Emden catechism of De Lasky, and the Genevian catechism of Calvin, which last one was afterwards translated into German, at the same time with the Heidelberg catechism, in order thus to prove the agreement between the Palatinate and Genevian doctrine. Thus, in the preliminary work and in the substance of the catechism, the spirit and labors of both these divines is to be recognised. Ursinus, however, whose plan received the preference, performed the duty of drawing up the catechism.

The circumstances under which this excellent symbol was produced, and the character of the men who were at the same time the organs of the religious age and of the Divine Spirit, wonderfully conspired in making it the flower and fruit of the entire German Reformation. It has Lutheran inwardness, Melancthonian clearness, Zwinglian simplicity, and Calvinistic fire, all fused together. In the beautiful combination of all these elements, it loses the peculiar and distinctive spirit of each one. It has no prototype in any of the Reformers. Zurich and Calvin can say, It is not of us. It has

the suavity, but not the compromising spirit of Melancthon — the prince himself, it is said, took care that it should not be without some sharp points. It has not the dashing terror and dogmatism of Luther. What is strangest of all, it is farthest possible removed from the scholasticism and rigid logic of Ursinus. Though it has the warm, practical, sacred poetical fervor of Olevianus, it has not his fire and flame. It is greater than reformers. It is purer and sounder than theologians. It is rather the product of faith and piety, than of knowledge and theology.

The pious elector highly appreciated the services of Ursinus, both in the formation, and afterwards in the defence, of his catechism. On one occasion, when Joachim, a Silesian, praised Ursinus to the prince, he replied: "And yet your fatherland was not worthy of such a man: tell your countrymen to banish many such men into my dominions."

In 1564, while fierce controversies were going on in regard to the new catechism, the plague broke out with great violence in Heidelberg, causing both the court and the university to withdraw, for a time, from the place. During this solemn recess, Ursinus wrote and published a small work on preparation for death, which proved very opportune, was translated afterwards into Latin, and did much good.

In 1571, he received an urgent call to Lausanne, which, on account of his enfeebled constitution, and owing to heavy labors at Heidelberg, he felt inclined to accept; yet, through the influence of

the elector, who granted him an assistant, he was induced to decline it. In 1572, in the fortieth year of his age, he was married to Margaret Trautwein, who is said to have added materially to his comfort and rest.

In October, 1576, Frederick died, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Louis, under whom the religious state of the Palatinate again fell into disorder. The young prince, whose previous connections had inspired in him a strong zeal for Lutheranism, in opposition to the entire course of his father, at once dismissed the more prominent theologians who did not fully approve his measures, and Lutherans were appointed in their place. Ursinus, declining to receive Luther's catechism, and with it the Lutheran doctrine and Reformation, became a martyr to his convictions, and was compelled to leave the place. He declined a summons to his native city, as professor. In 1578, he was called, by the second son of Frederick, the Prince Palatine John Casimer, to the newly-established Reformed Theological School in Neustadt, on the Hardt, which speedily flourished under his care, and that of his earlier colleagues, who had also received appointments in that institution, which now became the home of nearly all the Heidelberg theologians.

The triumph of the Lutherans in the Palatinate was short. Louis died in the prime of life; and, under Duke Casimer, who succeeded him, the Reformed faith was again restored, and the Heidelberg catechism became again the ecclesias-

tical banner of the Palatinate. The theologians of Neustadt were recalled; but Ursinus had gone to the saints' everlasting rest. His health had been failing for some years, but his unwearied zeal and industry stimulated him, as in the case of his beloved teacher Melanchthon, even upon his tedious sick-bed, still to labor in his office of religious teacher. Only about five years was he permitted to labor at Neustadt, when the will of God concerning him in the Church on earth, was fulfilled; and, on the 6th of March, 1583, the very year in which his catechism triumphed in the Palatinate, and, in the forty-ninth year of his age, he fell asleep, resting upon Jesus Christ as "his only comfort in life and in death," and was translated into the general assembly and church of the first-born in heaven.

He was buried in the choir of the church at Neustadt. A funeral oration, in Latin, was pronounced, on the occasion, by his constant friend, Francis Junius. His colleagues erected a monument to his honor and memory, which very justly pronounces him "a great theologian, a vanquisher of the prevalent erroneous doctrines concerning the person of Christ and His Supper, gifted with powerful language and pen, a keen-sighted philosopher, a wise man, and a strict teacher of the young."

Some time after his death, his works were collected and published, in three folio volumes, by his friend and disciple, David Pareus. These are valuable in their place, as monuments of theolo-

gical conflict and victory in the past ; but, not as the author of three folios, is Ursinus known to the Christian world, but as one of the authors of the Heidelberg catechism. In it his genius and spirit live in the Reformed Church, and on account of it millions continue to call his memory blessed.

CASPER OLEVIANUS.

1535—1587.

CASPER OLEVIANUS, the eloquent court-preacher of Frederick the Pious, and the friend and co-laborer of Ursinus, shared with him the labor, and inherits with him the honor, of having produced the Heidelberg catechism. These two eminent men, Olevianus, a strict disciple of Calvin, Ursinus, imbued with the mild spirit of Melancthon, were the complement of each other, and admirably adapted for the mutual work which, in the providence of God, fell into their hands.

To the elector, however, his favorite court-preacher, Olevianus, stood in a decidedly more intimate relationship than the learned professor Ursinus. Olevianus was not only a countryman of Frederick, but, besides this, when a youth of only twenty years, he greatly endangered his own life in an attempt to save the life of the elector's son, who was drowned in the Eure, at Bourges; and, in return, the elector, by his prevailing influence, had also delivered Olevianus from the prison in Treves, and immediately taken the fugitive to himself. These two pious persons were, therefore, wonderfully united to each other by the ties of

mutual gratitude, as well as by a common living faith; on which account the immediate influence of Olevianus upon the elector was naturally stronger than that of Ursinus.

This peculiar relation to the prince was a great source of power to him, so that he became the real founder and regulator of the Palatinate Reformed Church, whilst the learned Ursinus was the principal author of its catechism. It was his labor and influence that accomplished the introduction of the presbyterial form of Church government and discipline into the Palatinate, first applied by Calvin to the Church in Geneva; extending and perfecting the system, however, so as to include the government of the Church by synods. Thus has Olevianus exerted a most important influence in giving shape and character to the Reformation; reviving and introducing ideas of government which have not only since been widely adopted by Scotch, English, and Irish Presbyterians, but which have confessedly entered into the peculiar republican principles of our American civil government.

Casper Olevianus was a native of Olewig, a village near Treves, since famous as the city of the "holy coat," where his father was a baker, and also held the office of mayor and senator. He was born August 10th, 1536, two years after the birth of Ursinus, five years after the death of Zwingli, and ten years before the death of Luther. His parents were prosperous burghers, possessing sufficient means to educate two sons, the one in medicine, and the other, Casper, in the science of

the law. His mother seems to have been a peculiarly affectionate, apt, and enlightened woman, and, in her religious convictions, agreed perfectly with her son, with whom she also lived up to the time of her death. He was chiefly indebted to her father, a prominent butcher, for his education.

In Treves, the Reformation had some decided adherents as early as 1541 and 1549 — thus, ever since the Reformation began in Cologne and the Palatinate — still, only secret adherents. Olevianus also appears, when only thirteen years of age, to have already had some deeper Christian knowledge and insight, especially in regard to God's covenant of grace in the Old and New Testaments, which he had received from the Lent sermons of an old pious father.

About the year 1550, in order that he might advance in knowledge, he was sent into France, where he studied languages in Paris, and the science of law at the celebrated law-schools of Orleans and Bourges. It is remarkable how, outwardly and inwardly, he pursued a course similar to Calvin, who was afterwards his teacher; for he, too, very early united himself there with the "secret churches of God," the persecuted Huguenots, without, at that time, fully surrendering his heart and life to the truth of Christianity. It was not until several years after this, in 1556, that, at Bourges, under circumstances already referred to, he changed the whole plan of his life, and fully and unreservedly dedicated himself to the service of his Saviour.

While at Bourges, he was one day returning from a walk, in company with two friends, one of them a son of the Palatine Frederick III. As they were about to cross the Loire, some drunken students forced themselves into the same boat with them, for the passage. By their wild folly the boat was upset. The young prince, with others, found a watery grave. Olevianus, while endeavoring to save his friends, was brought into imminent peril of losing his own life.¹ It was then that, in the deep anguish of his soul, he made a vow unto God that, if He would rescue him from his danger, he would, if called to the work, preach the Gospel to his fatherland. His cry and his vow were heard, and the Lord delivered him from the jaws of death. He was afterwards newly strengthened and encouraged to be faithful to his vow, by the exhortations of the venerable Farel of Lausanne, who made him give his hand in pledge that he would not fail soon to return and preach Christ in the city of his birth.

He earnestly addressed himself to the necessary preparation for that new sphere of life to which he had now so solemnly dedicated himself. Still, he seems not to have abandoned the idea of finishing his legal studies; but, in addition to what pertained to the legal profession, he studied the Holy Scriptures and the writings of Calvin. In 1557, amid honorable proofs of his learning and moral conduct, he became Doctor of Laws, being then twenty-two years of age. In 1558 he visited his

¹ Dr. Nevin's Hist. and Gen. of the Heid. Catechism, p. 48.

native city of Treves, with some desire still, it seems, towards the practice of law; but, seeing that, in the state and mode of its practice, much unrighteousness was bound up in the business, he turned from it with decided dislike. He immediately hastened to Switzerland, in order there to continue and finish his theological studies, for which his desire grew daily deeper and stronger. In Geneva, Lausanne, and Zurich, he became acquainted with the celebrated Reformers, Calvin, Beza, Farel, Bullinger, and Martyr, enjoying the privilege of sitting with them at table; and, what was much more important to him, he became acquainted, by personal knowledge and experience, with the condition and the workings of the Presbyterian Church at Geneva, then in an extraordinarily blooming state. Here he spoke warmly to his esteemed teacher, Calvin, concerning his distant, dearly beloved home, and of the hopes which he cherished for its conversion to the truth. Knowing the quiet desire of many in Treves towards the Reformation, he induced Calvin, in 1558, to write to two members of the council, Otto Seel and Peter Sierk, who were known to be secretly well disposed towards the evangelical movement, to exhort and encourage them to take a more open and decided stand in favor of the spread of their faith, without heeding too much the unavoidable danger which such a course seemed necessarily to involve.

True to his former vow, the fiery youth, Olevianus, then only twenty-three years of age, returned

to Treves, and commenced his ministry there early in the year 1559. He was greeted in the most friendly manner, and immediately received an appointment as teacher of Latin in a school which had, at that time, become almost extinct. His province was to explain the dialectics of Melanchthon, then in vogue over the whole of Germany. In the course of his duties, he took occasion frequently to make use of such examples as would serve quietly, and without awakening suspicion or prejudice, to instil evangelical truth into the minds of his pupils. Owing to the limited knowledge of his scholars, he could make but poor progress by teaching in Latin; but he began, with more success, in the German language, to teach them from the catechism. Although not then an ecclesiastic, but only a layman, he ventured even publicly, in his school-room, to deliver an earnest and decidedly evangelical sermon on justification by faith alone, in which he indulged in strictures, especially upon the prominence given to saints, and also in reference to the mass and processions. In this he met with the approbation of many in the town; yet there were also numerous and strong voices raised against it. True, he was immediately forbidden to preach in his school; but he nevertheless continued to preach in the Jacob's church, with ever increasing attendance upon his discourses. The Gospel displayed its power. This was the means of very soon creating great commotion, dividing the whole town into two parties. The principal burgomaster of the town, named Steuss, one of the fraternity of weavers,

together with some other fraternities, and indeed nearly half the town, declared themselves decidedly in favor of the Reformation.

The Elector Frederick, of the Palatinate, and the Count Palatine Wolfgang, of Zweibrücken, sent Superintendent Finsberg, of Zweibrücken, to Treves, for a short time, to sustain Olevianus, and assist in carrying forward the quickly formed young congregation. The triumph of the Gospel here, as was the case at the same time at Aachen, could not have been delayed, had Treves been a free town, possessing the right, agreeably to the peace of Augsburg, to introduce the Reformation without the consent of the archbishop. As this, however, was not the case, or the right was considered at least doubtful, Archbishop John V. succeeded, against the most zealous watchfulness and struggles of the whole town against his tyrannical procedure, in forcing the inhabitants, by might and starvation, into submission. The "Lutheran citizens," as they were called, were glad to escape punishment, in body and soul, as "seditious traitors, instigators of incendiary movements and murder," and to obtain permission to emigrate to the nearest evangelical Palatinate districts, Trarbach and Beldenz, on the Mosel. The twelve principal movers in the reformatory interests, and among them Olevianus, were sent to prison; from which they were again delivered, after a confinement of ten weeks, through the influence of the neighboring evangelical princes and the city of Strasburg, under the condition of a heavy fine and immediate banishment from the city.

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Still, there were left in Treves, after the first emigration and banishment, three hundred evangelical Christians. These, however, refusing to recant, were also soon after driven from the town. The same year, the Jesuits were received in Treves; and it remained, from that time forth, exclusively and strenuously a Roman Catholic town. Yet, by the banishment of its wealthiest and most enterprising business citizens, it inflicted upon itself a wound from which it never afterwards recovered. Not until 1817 (consequently, only after a space of 248 years) was an evangelical service again held in Treves. Latterly, its population has somewhat increased, though there is little probability that it will ever recover its ancient fame and importance.

As in the case of the martyrdom of Stephen, and the persecutions connected with it, the exiles went everywhere, preaching the Gospel. Not permitted to burn in one spot, the fire kindled wherever the brands were scattered. One of the proscribed, John Papst, surnamed Heidfield, of Wipperfürth, and a disciple of Calvin, was, the same year, 1559, called to Wesel, where he contributed essentially towards the introduction of the Reformed doctrine and Church.

Olevianus was a welcome and important acquisition to the Elector Frederick. Even while he was yet a prisoner, he called him, as Professor of Philosophy, to Heidelberg. As early as 1561, he appointed him Professor of Theology, and then also as his court-preacher, and president of the

Church council; at the same time designating Ursinus as his successor in the chair of philosophy —thus assigning to each one that sphere of labor for which he was best fitted by his talents and taste; for Olevianus was much better adapted to the post of practical theology and preacher, than to that of professor and teacher of the learned sciences.

From this time on, Olevianus labored with the greatest zeal for the complete organization of the Church in the Palatinate, entertaining well-grounded hopes that it might become a nursery of pure doctrine for the whole of Germany. He turned his attention especially to the calling of competent preachers and teachers, of which there was yet a pressing need; and, scarcely was he a quarter of a year in Heidelberg, when he wrote to Calvin, requesting him to send over the Order and Discipline of the Church at Geneva, that he might lay them before the Consistory for examination and adoption, which, in regard to Church government, favored his own views. Calvin, with great cheerfulness, sent him the outlines of the Genevan Church polity, together with many valuable suggestions in regard to it. He especially recommended to Olevianus the temperate and prudent introduction of this Church order, because he, as well as Beza, feared the impetuosity and enthusiasm of this spirited youth.

Olevianus, however, did not at once succeed in introducing a fully self-sustaining order of discipline, entirely independent of the civil power.

Rather, he had to be satisfied to succeed so far as to constitute synods of ministers, without elders, and to arrange matters so that — agreeably to the questions 81 to 85 of the Heidelberg catechism, and in accordance with the Palatinate Church Constitution, produced about that time, and of which he was, without doubt, the principal author — the necessity of ecclesiastical Christian discipline, to be administered by the congregation, or those ordained and authorized for that purpose, was, meantime, at least acknowledged; whilst, as yet, however, no independent presbyters, or boards of elders, were actually established for the administration of discipline. The power of discipline, for the time being, remained yet entirely in the hands of the civil authorities, as a kind of politico-moral regulation.

In 1567 a circumstance occurred which became the occasion of materially advancing into favor the views of Olevianus, in regard to Church government. A man by the name of Withers, an Englishman, and a rigid Calvinist, by exciting a discussion about the necessity of the exercise of Church discipline by the ministry and presbytery, “even against the prince,” occasioned a vehement controversy on this vital question of the Reformed Church. In this discussion, Olevianus took sides against his dear friend, Professor Erastus, a learned and pious Swiss physician, who adhered to the Zwinglian doctrine of the union of Church and State. Still, after longer and more mature consideration, the views and demands of Olevianus

prevailed with the elector; and, in 1570, though not without violent protest from the opposing party, the elector actually instituted presbyters in every congregation, entrusting to them expressly and independently the administration of the Church government, and exercise of discipline; in which arrangement, however, the individual members of the presbytery, who, from their principal vocation, were called censors, were in no case to be elected by single congregations, but were appointed for life by the higher judicatories. Thus were the desires of Olevianus in regard to this important matter realized, and his labors crowned with success. The blessed fruits which this arrangement yielded, are incidentally exhibited in the words from a funeral sermon by Tossanus: "Every one must acknowledge that there now exists in Heidelberg, and in the entire Palatinate, order, quietness, and a Christian-like state of things, very different from what has been prevailing during several years past."

It will easily be concluded, from what has just been recorded of the difficulties attending the introduction of this order of Church government in the Palatinate, that no one could have succeeded but the prince's favorite, Olevianus, even as he could have succeeded with no one but Frederick the Pious. Such a surrender of power, which involved virtually the separation of Church and State, required courage to ask, and piety to grant. It is not fanciful to trace this grand result back to the time when the youthful Olevianus gave such

strong proof of disinterested love for Frederick's son, showing himself, in the waters of the Loire, willing to give his own life for that of the young prince. To Providence, of course, do we ascribe all these results; yet that Providence began its wonderful work, as it always does, in a small and silent way. It began when Olevianus secured a permanent place in the elector's heart, by the heroic attempt to save his son, and when Frederick, in like manner, endeared himself to Olevianus, at the time his gentle hand of interposition delivered him from the prison of Treves.

After the blessed death of the pious elector (1576), and the immediate reinstatement into the Palatinate, by force, of the Lutheran doctrine and customs, by his son Ludwig, Olevianus was made to suffer the principal penalty for having been the chief leader in introducing the Reformed doctrines and usages into the Palatinate; for we find that, in that same year, the new elector, in the face of the earnest protestations of his councils, suspended him from his office of pastor and professor, forbade him all conversation and correspondence with the learned, prohibited him from holding any private assemblies in his own house, and even put him under arrest. Soon after this, the elector also dismissed the reigning count, Ludwig, of Sayn-Wittgenstein-Berleberg, a zealous friend of the Reformed doctrine, who, since 1574, had been superintendent under his father. Whereupon, this Count Ludwig, who is praised as "one of the most distinguished princes of the sixteenth cen-

ture," immediately (1577) called Olevianus out of his embarrassed situation at Berleberg, "to instruct his sons in the Christian doctrine, languages, and the useful arts, and along with this also to preach." Perhaps, in this arrangement, the idea of the so-called "Count and Knight, or principal High School," which he and his special friends, the Counts of Nassau and Solms, afterwards actually established, in Herborn, and to which Olevianus was called, in 1584, floated before his imagination. Thus, as a martyr to his convictions, and against his own will, Olevianus once again placed his feet upon Rhine-Westphalian soil, and continued to labor unceasingly, and with great success, during the last ten years of his life, in the interests of the Reformed Church. He was largely instrumental in preparing the way for the introduction of the presbyterial order of Church government into the provinces of Nassau, Wittgenstein, Solms, and Wied, and was president of the general synod, composed of the ministers of these provinces, which met at Herborn, in 1581, at which it was finally adopted.

His labors on earth, however, were now fast drawing to a close. Three years after this important synod at Herborn, Olevianus died of dropsy, at the age of fifty years. His death was a great loss to the Church, which, especially at this time, needed just such a learned and deeply pious theologian. But, though men die, the Lord lives; and the Church always receives perennial power adequate to all her emergencies, and her Head

gives her ever new strength unto victory. Besides his pious wife, Philippine of Mentz, who was a widow at the time of her marriage with him, in 1560, he left behind him two sons, Paul and Ludwig, and one daughter, who became the wife of Professor Piscator, of Herborn, the biographer of Olevianus.

The efficiency of Olevianus consisted principally in his successful preaching, and in the excellent and well-adapted order and government which he introduced into the Church. His talents and his taste indicated that his vocation was rather in this sphere than in that of author, or even theological professor. What writings he has left belong principally to preparations for the Heidelberg catechism, and such as were published in its defence or explanation. Around it, as in the case of Ursinus, his laurels will be perennially green; and, as being one of its authors, he will be longest and most gratefully remembered by the Reformed Church.

In his last testament, he gives a beautiful evidence of his firm, joyful, and grateful reliance upon the divine will; implores God's grace and blessing upon the Palatinate, and upon the reigning families of Wittgenstein, Solms, and Nassau; commends to them the school and printing establishment, and the maintenance of the synods and visitations, with the beneficial operations of which he thinks they may be well satisfied. He also kindly provides for his mother and sister, and then concludes beautifully thus: "Herewith I also commend my body and soul to my beloved God, Father, Son, and

Holy Ghost, through the eternal High Priest, relying upon His gracious covenant and promise, that He will, to all eternity, be my God, and the God of my seed, and that He will never deal with me in anger, as He hath sworn to me in His oath. (Is. liv. 9.)” Under his signature, he testifies: “That he continues to repose confidently upon the faith which he taught in preaching and writing.” His death-bed was especially edifying. He was resigned, serene, and happy, and filled with longings after the Lord. His last words, in answer to the question, whether he was certain of his salvation, were: “CERTISSIMUS! *most certain!*”

As a beautiful evidence of his joyous and child-like faith, and of his loving, fatherly heart, we may yet record the letter which, three days before his death, he wrote to his son, who, at the time, lay sick at Spire. “My dear son Paul, with the patriarch Jacob I say: I wait for thy salvation, O Lord! for I have arrived at that point where I exclaim, with the apostle: I have a desire to depart, and to be with Christ, to whom also I commend and commit thee; as I did in holy baptism, so also I do now, when I am about to depart to the Lord. In like manner do I also commend your dear mother, your brother, and your sister, to Him, and the word of His grace. True, I would gladly have seen you once more; yet I could not urge you to come, as it is very cold, and your leg is not yet recovered. Yesterday I arranged all my affairs, as it is meet for a pious father to do; and our noble prince, John has ratified, by a document, his libe-

rality toward you, without laying any restraint upon your liberty. Hourly do I expect to make my pilgrimage to the Lord. Do not undertake hastily to come to me. We will see each other again, according to God's gracious covenant, in eternal life. I commit to you your pious mother, even as I know your love to her. Care for your young brother Ludwig, as for my beloved one; and, with that wisdom which is constitutional with you, treat him gently. Mind not high things, but condescend to men of low estate; and so direct your studies that many may be benefited by them. The blessing of God be with your going out and coming in. Amen. And let your spirit repose upon the free and gracious sacrifice of the Son, expecting the heavenly inheritance only through and in the will of the Son of God. Amen. Signed WITH MINE OWN HAND. Your father, Casper Olevianus, of Treves, minister of the Word of God. Lord Jesus, receive my spirit!"

In vain would we search for an epistle to excel this in beauty, parental tenderness, faith, and piety. It breathes of heaven itself, and we feel that he who writes it is already looking in through the golden gates, and, with a heart full of sacred joy and the eternal life of love, turns round but for a moment, to call his child after him. What a picture for a parent to study! What words for a child to hear!

THE FATHERS
OF
THE GERMAN REFORMED CHURCH
IN
AMERICA.

(263)

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REV. GEORGE MICHAEL WEISS.

DIED 1762.

REV. GEORGE MICHAEL WEISS, or WEITZIUS,¹ was a native of the Palatinate, on the Rhine. He came to America in company with about 400 emigrants, "Natives and late Inhabitants of the Palatinate, upon the Rhine, and Places adjacent, into this Province of Pensilvania, in hopes and expectation of finding a Retreat and peaceable Settlement therein." His name, with the affix "V. D. M.," appears at the head of a list of fifty heads of families, who, on the 21st of September, 1727, subscribed the obligation of allegiance to

¹ So he sometimes wrote his name. See depositions in chancery, in the case of Reif.

the King of Great Britain and the proprietary of the Province of Pennsylvania. The fact that they were all still together, in a body, in Philadelphia, and that it is added, in the proceedings of the council of that day, that "sundry of these foreigners, lying sick on board, never came to be qualified," shows that they had just arrived."¹ This, therefore, fixes the date of the arrival of Mr. Weiss in this country. The statement to be found in various places, fixing the time of his arrival in 1726, is, therefore, incorrect.

Mr. Weiss was sent into this country by "the upper consistory, or classis, of the Palatinate." He came, it seems, with a number of people migrating thence at that time, as their pastor. The German Palatines, migrating from their own country to Pennsylvania, were unable to provide themselves with ministers, and so the Church of their fatherland, in general, furnished a minister to those who were then going, and those who had preceded them. Four years after Mr. Weiss' arrival, as we learn from a report made to the Synod of Holland, there were about 15,000 Reformed members, "of the oppressed inhabitants of Germany, and particularly out of the Palatinate, and in the districts of Nassau, Waldek, Witgerstein, and Wetteraw, holding to the old Reformed confession," in America. There were also, it is said, German Mennonites and Lutherans, but the Reformed "constituted more than half of the entire number."

¹ See Colonial Records, vol. iii. pp. 283-84.

When Mr. Weiss arrived in this country, he settled in Schippach, then in Philadelphia county, now in Montgomery county, about twenty-four miles from Philadelphia. Here Mr. Weiss, and some of the emigrants that came with him, and others that had come into this county some years before, "formed a Church and consistory." "A wooden church," says the record, "has been erected, and Dominie Weiss has preached for the Reformed congregation, and administered the ordinances of baptism and the Lord's Supper. In this neighborhood, the German Palatines are more thickly settled than in other parts."

Mr. Weiss saw how inadequate were his own labors to the pressing need by which he was surrounded. He reported the destitutions and wants of the Reformed in the New World to the consistory of the Palatinate; and they (being themselves "under the cross" of persecution, and poor) communicated, as early as 1728, with the synods of the Netherlands, urging them to extend aid to these emigrants. This led gradually to the systematic efforts afterwards made by the Churches of Holland in favor of the infant American congregations, and from which incalculable good, extending through a long series of years, resulted.

In the year 1729, in company with an elder, Mr. J. Reif, he went to Holland, to collect money, Bibles, and other good books, for the use of the destitute congregations and families in America. They laid before the synods of North and South Holland, as also before the classis of Amsterdam,

“the pressing wants of the scattered and shepherdless sheep of the new established fold of the Church of God, and entreated for assistance and support.” They were warmly received, and important contributions were made by these judicatories, as well as by private individuals. Though the Rev. Mr. Weiss is in no way implicated, so far as we are able to discover, yet it is certain that some of these gifts never received their intended application, and some of them only after a long time. A committee of the classis of Amsterdam, who, some years afterwards, investigated the matter, say that but “a small portion of these accumulated contributions of love were laid out and applied to their intended purposes — yea, the most of the monies collected remained in the hands¹ of Mr. Reif, to whom they were entrusted, and who but recently gave up the small remnant, and that not without much difficulty.”

This matter with Mr. Reif was only settled through Mr. Schlatter, after his arrival in this country, who called upon him for that purpose, in company with Mr. Weiss. It still hung on till the beginning of the year 1747. “Through the interference of four English gentlemen,” says Mr. Schlatter, “who were chosen arbitrators, a settlement was finally made; and Mr. Reif, after deducting his expenses, paid over to me £135, or about 900 Holland gulden.” It is evident that Mr. Weiss was not implicated in this crooked business, for he

¹ “An den fingern hangen geblieben.”

afterwards enjoyed the full confidence of Mr. Schlatter and the Church.

It appears, from evidence given in the Court of Chancery, of Pennsylvania, in the Reif case, Nov. 23, 1732, by Jacob Diemer, Michael Hillegas, Peter Hillegas, Joost Schmidt, Heinrich Weller, Jacob Siegel, and William Rohrich, that Mr. Weiss, previous to 1732, had formed a German Reformed congregation in the city of Philadelphia, and that he was, at that time, pastor of that congregation. The witnesses just named constituted the consistory of the church under Weiss. "The said Deponents being duly sworn upon the Holy Evangelists of Almighty God, do depose and say, that, for above the space of ten years bygone,¹ great numbers of the subjects of the Emperor of Germany, professing the Protestant Religion, and having suffered hardships in their native country upon the score of their Religion, came over into the province of Pennsylvania, and settled themselves in sundry parts of the s^d Province, and especially in Philadelphia, where a considerable number of the s^d Germans or Palatines² formed themselves into a religious congregation in s^d city, under the care of one George Michael Weiss, a Protestant minister of the Reformed Religion, and a native of Germany, and are known by the name of the German Reformed church of Philadelphia."

We have not been able to ascertain the precise date when Mr. Weiss returned to America, or

¹ Hence, previous to 1722.

² At a later period, must be here understood.

whether he and Mr. Reif returned together: he had, however, already returned, Nov. 23, 1732, as we learn incidentally from the depositions of the consistory of the church in Philadelphia, in the Reif case.

From this same document, we learn that, after his return from Europe, and previous to Nov. 23, 1732, he had "gone to Albany, in the Province of New York." He became pastor of a church in Rhinebeck, Dutchess county, near Albany, New York. Here there were already, previous to 1720, a goodly number of German Reformed. He was compelled to flee from that field of labor on account of the war with the Indians, by which not only individuals, but also families and settlements, were in danger of being massacred.

He now returned to Old Goshenhoppen, a short time previous to Schlatter's arrival, in 1746. Here, however, he met with trouble. A school-master, whose name is not preserved, had undertaken to preach without regular license, and formed a party of about twenty families, thus creating great confusion; and, although Mr. Weiss was much beloved, yet, on account of the party which adhered to the irregular teacher, it was with difficulty that order at length prevailed over confusion.

At this juncture of affairs, in the evening of September 19, 1746, Mr. Schlatter, agreeably to previous promise and arrangement, came to the house of Mr. Weiss, in Old Goshenhoppen, with a view of assisting in the restoration of order, and to establish Mr. Weiss as the regular pastor there;

but party spirit had risen so high, that Schlatter says: "I was not able to accomplish anything profitable, or make any arrangement for the regular support of a minister." In this position matters continued for the present.

Mr. Weiss entered heartily and fully into the spirit and purpose of Mr. Schlatter's mission, and seems to have spared no pains in rendering him all the assistance in his power, to establish order and a regular ministry among the scattered churches. For this purpose, he went with him, from the 22d to the 27th, over the Blue mountains to Oly, to Lancaster, then across to Tulpehocken, and back to Lancaster the second time.

Mr. Schlatter had fixed on the 12th of October, then near at hand, for a kind of synodical meeting of the only "four regular German ministers engaged in the work of the Lord in this extensive region," namely, Boehm, Weiss, Reiger, and Dorstius, to take place at Philadelphia. He invited them all, in the most friendly manner, to be present, which invitation was embraced by all but Dorstius, who was prevented from attending, but wrote a friendly letter to the synod. "This," says Mr. Schlatter, "was the first occasion on which these brethren had all been together, notwithstanding some of them had been laboring for twenty years in this part of the vineyard of the Lord. The object of this fraternal meeting was that, not I, but the Lord might unite their hearts in love; which they not only engaged to do, in the most affectionate terms, and with many tears, but

also all subscribed certain articles of peace and unity." This shows that these servants of Christ, though they had long labored apart, were of one spirit, and were willing now cordially to unite in the great work of establishing order in the midst of wide-spread confusion.

No wonder that Mr. Weiss returned from Goshenhoppen, from this scene of union and love, with an increased desire that the strife existing might be allayed, and reconciliation and peace be restored. On the 18th of October, Mr. Schlatter, taking Mr. Boehm with him, again visited Mr. Weiss, and, on the 19th, preached at New Goshenhoppen, "for the purpose of attempting, in conjunction with Messrs. Boehm and Weiss, to reconcile, by the blessing of God, the divisions made in this Church by a man who had thrust himself uncalled into the ministry, and formed a party." Again they were unsuccessful; "yet," says Mr. Schlatter, "the Lord interposed, some time after, and brought about an amicable arrangement." Mr. Weiss became their pastor; and this church, namely, New Goshenhoppen, with Old Goshenhoppen and Grosen-Schwam, or Great Swamp, constituted his charge, paying him the exact sum which the poet has allowed to a country pastor, and which he regards as sufficient to make him contented and "passing rich," namely, "£40 a-year."

These congregations, at that time, numbered considerable members. On taking regular charge of them, Mr. Weiss made a record of the names of the heads of families that were connected

with them. It runs thus: New Goshenhoppen, fifty-two families; Alt Goshenhoppen, thirty-seven; Grossen-Schwam, forty-eight families. He continued pastor of these congregations until some time in 1761, when old age, it seems, began to press too heavily upon him. He seems to have been feeble for some years. In October, 1759, Cœtus met at his house, to act in the case of Steiner; and, in the minutes, the reason given for holding the meeting there is, that Mr. Weiss is a valetudinarian. Slowly he went down, gradually the silver cord was loosed, and soon the golden bowl was broken, and the weary pilgrim glided through the doorway of death into his long home.

Mr. Weiss died, at a good old age, about the close of the year 1762, or the beginning of the year 1763. He is buried in the church at New Goshenhoppen. In the south-east corner of the church, on the inside, there is a wooden slab, on which are painted the simple words:

Hier ruhet der Ehr.

HERR WEISS.

Rev. Jedediah Andrews, in a letter to Rev. Thomas Prince, of Boston, Oct. 14, 1730, speaks of him as "a bright young man and a fine scholar," and says "he speaks Latin as readily as we do our vernacular tongue."¹ He was a man of much energy; and the records of Goshenhoppen show that the congregation enjoyed considerable prosperity under his ministrations. Either by de-

¹ Hazard's Register of Penna., vol. xv. pp. 199-202.

voting some attention in that way, or by the rise in the value of property, at that early day, he was fortunate and successful in the accumulation of earthly treasures; he got to be what is called a rich man. It is said that he once owned what is called the Green Lane Iron-works, now the property of General William Schall, of Norristown.

Mr. Weiss had no children, but owned about twenty slaves. The most of these, at his death, passed into the hands of Mr. Mayberry, who became proprietor of the iron-works. He baptized all his slaves and their increase, getting some of his members to stand as sponsors. There is reason, however, to fear that the solemn obligations assumed by these sponsors were little worth for the spiritual good of the poor slaves. Tradition speaks of a Mr. Galman, who had stood as sponsor for one, and, at the sale, the slave's mother begged him to buy the boy, but the sponsor declined; yet it is difficult to see how he could fulfil his sponsorial vows, while his god-child was carried to a distant plantation, as the property of another. Some of the descendants of these slaves still linger in and around Goshenhoppen.

REV. JOHN PHILIP BOEHM.

DIED 1749.

REV. JOHN PHILIP BOEHM came to this country from the Palatinate, where he had followed the calling of schoolmaster. The precise date of his arrival in America cannot, perhaps, be now known. He is mentioned by Mr. Schlatter as the oldest German Reformed minister in this country; and he had already been preaching twenty years when Schlatter arrived, in 1746. Thus, his ministry must have commenced early in 1726.

He took up his residence in Whitpain township, then in Philadelphia, but now in Montgomery county, in the neighborhood of the present Boehm's church. Schlatter says his residence was sixteen miles from Philadelphia. He was the first minister whom he visited on his arrival, which he did the next day after he came to Philadelphia.

It appears that he began to officiate as a minister before he had a regular license—to which he was no doubt pressed by the peculiar necessities of the times. That it was not a wilful disregard of ecclesiastical order, may be seen from the fact, that, as soon as the way was open, he cheerfully submitted to a regular introduction into the holy office. It

seems that, some time previous to 1729, application was made to the classis of Amsterdam for his ordination; and, at the same time, the question as to the validity of his previous acts was submitted. This gave occasion to the following brief but interesting letter, which is the oldest written document, pertaining to the history of the German Reformed Church in this country, which we have seen. It is endorsed, "A writing from the classis of Amsterdam to the Ministers and Brethren of the Reformed Church in Pennsylvania," dated June 20, 1729. It is written in German.

"The classis of Amsterdam has decided that all ecclesiastical acts of Rev. Boehm are to be acknowledged as valid; but that, according to the custom of the Church, he must be confirmed or ordained by the ministers of New York;¹ that,

¹ Das er aber durch einen Præsidenten von New York nach Kirchlichem Gebranch zu befestigen [oder ordiniren?] sei, das diese Befestigung aber nicht soll fortgehen befor und ehe der berufte Böhm und die Herren Præsidenten zu New York erklärt hat," &c. The position of these "Præsidenten" is explained by the following, from a brief History of the Dutch Reformed Church, copied from the Dutch Reformed Magazine. See Ger. Ref. Mag., vol. i, p. 18. "While new congregations were being slowly planted in different parts of the country, the ministers of the oldest and most conspicuous churches, such as those of New York, Albany, and Esopus, claimed and enjoyed a kind of episcopal dignity, having all the country churches around them under their care, especially those which were not furnished with pastors. And they considered it as a kind of infringement of their prerogative, if any minister ventured to officiate in them without their knowledge and

however, this confirmation shall not take place before, and until Mr. Boehm has declared to the ministers of New York, that his Reverence receives the Heidelberg Catechism and all the Formula, engaging strictly to regulate his ministry in accordance with them, and submits himself to the ecclesiastical ordinances of the Synod of Dortrecht.

“J. BAKKER, Dep. ad res externa.”¹

Mr. Boehm did not confine his early labors to his own neighborhood, but visited various settlements of the Reformed, ministering to them, and laying the foundations for future congregations. Among others, he preached in Philadelphia and Germantown, once a month.

In Whitpain, it appears that Mr. Boehm preached at first in his own house, and perhaps in the houses of others, in that region. It was not till the year 1740 that “a small stone church”² was built on the spot where Boehm’s church now stands. In 1818, it gave place to the present building. The old church, though small, was built with remarkably heavy walls, constructed of stone and mud-mortar, as no lime could at that time be procured. The pulpit was “high up” in one corner. It is

concurrence.” Through them, it seems, the classis of Amsterdam, at that time, extended their supervision over subordinate churches.

¹ For a copy of this letter, we are indebted to the kindness of Rev. Levin T. Reichel. The original is in the archives of the Moravian church at Bethlehem, Pa.

² Schlatter’s Journal.

said that Mr. Boehm (like Mr. Weiss, at the erection of the log church in Skippach, 1727) labored at the building with his own hands. Thus, to the joy of many hearts in the midst of the wilderness, "the little Zion rose."

In Philadelphia, the beginning of things was equally humble. As early as 1734, the German Reformed and Lutheran congregations, in Philadelphia, had jointly hired a house from Mr. Hamilton, for £4. The Lutherans were to have the use of the house three-fourths of the time, and the Reformed one-fourth, each one to pay in proportion to the time. It is provided, however, they say, Jan. 1, 1741, that, "since this lease doth last yet nineteen months, therefore the said Reformed congregation will keep it in her own hands, that, if they should meet with a Minister who would preach to them twice a month, they, the Lutheran congregation, should be obliged to resign the third Part of the Meeting House to them again, without the least Hesitation or Momy."¹ In this place, Mr. Boehm preached for the Reformed, once a month.

Notwithstanding this agreement, it was not long ere serious difficulty and trouble arose. The Lutherans were without a minister, and had no immediate prospect of procuring one. Meanwhile, Count Zinzendorf had arrived in Philadelphia, and was preaching there. A disposition was soon manifested, among the Lutherans, to procure his services. But their union with the Reformed in

¹ See the contract, dated Phila., Jan. 1, 1741. *Beding Samml.*, vol. iii. pp. 60, 61.

the use of the same church, and some remonstrances against the movement, on the part of the Reformed, seemed to stand as a hindrance to the project. Mr. Boehm, the German Reformed pastor, had already expressed himself, to the Lutheran officers, on the second day of Christmas, 1741, unfavorable towards the movement. This gave occasion to Count Zinzendorf, soon after, to address the following letter to Mr. Boehm :

“MY DEAR MR. BOEHM :

“The officers of the Lutheran denomination, in which I have been born and educated, and on the basis of which I stand, in the service of our Church, have solicited me to preach in your church. I cannot well deny them in this, because, in Germany, up to within a few days of my embarking for this country, I had accepted similar invitations in many towns and places of the Lutheran religion, willingly preaching the Gospel everywhere, in accordance with good order. But because I know that you preach in the same church, and I am not inclined to the doctrine of an absolute reprobation, as a doctrine which, in my religion, is confessedly held as wholly and fundamentally erroneous, I have thought it proper to enquire of you whether you have a right to present aught against my preaching there, since I do not wish to burden any one, or interfere with his rights ; as also, on the other hand, I do not wish to see the rights of the evangelical officers diminished. Meanwhile, I would say that I have

never yet entered a pulpit against the will of any man who held authority there; and, in this case, I find the circumstances such that it is my duty first to make enquiry of Mr. Boehm; after which, I shall act as I find it proper before the Lord.

“I remain yours, ready to serve,

“LUDWIG HERN VON THÜRNSTEIN.

“PHIL^d. 7⁷/₁₈, Jan. 41⁴¹/₁₇₄₂.”

This letter discovers, or perhaps rather seeks to hide, an exceedingly cautious vein. It is calculated, to say the least, to place Mr. Boehm in a very delicate position, by an indirect attack upon his doctrinal position, at a point stated with implied unfairness, and thus tempting him to controversy; nor is the letter free from elements which the least friction would excite into difficulties that would tend to destroy amicable relations between the Reformed and Lutherans. The whole business must be disapproved, as tending, indirectly at least, to interfere with an established ecclesiastical order. Under this view, we must approve of

MR. BOEHM'S REPLY.

“A letter from Count Zinzendorf, under date January 7, 1742, transmitted to me through Michael Haan, of Philadelphia, I received to-day, which is herewith certified to Mr. Haan.

“An answer upon its contents, namely, whether I have a right to present anything against the Count's preaching in the church, which is possessed

by both our evangelical congregations, cannot, at this time, for reasons, be so immediately given as is desired.

“I adhere, accordingly, till then, to the words which, on the 26th of December, 1741, were spoken to the elders on the evangelical Lutheran side; at least to some of them. Thus: I think I have more information in regard to these things than you all, and hence will be understood as protesting, if any one should say that permission was given from the Reformed side, or from me, to Count Zinzendorf, to preach at the time and place belonging to us, the Reformed. To you who are Lutherans, we Reformed have nothing to enjoin on your own time. If you do anything against yourselves, we will have no part in what may grow out of it. Standing on this ground, I am and remain, towards every sincere person,

“A friendly and submissive servant,

JOH. PH. BOEHM.

“PHIL^d COUNTY, Whitpain
Township, *Jan.* 8, 1742.”

Ref. minister.

Count Zinzendorf, and with him the party desiring his services, took the course indicated in the closing sentences of his letter, and acted “as they found it proper before the Lord;” of which, of course, they were themselves the judges.

The Lutheran congregation showed itself inclined to persevere in the consummation of the proposed arrangement; and the Count seemed, in like manner, inclined to favor their wishes. They thought

that he and his people preached "as Lutheran as they had ever heard or read;" and it was proposed, accordingly, by the officers, in the month of February, 1742, that he should be invited to administer the Holy Supper to the congregation. To this proposal he replied, "that, although he held the Lutheran principle, he was in a difficulty in regard to the Lutheran practice, and declined for the present; but promised them to preach the Gospel to them in their barn, regularly every Sunday, in good Lutheran style, which they accepted with joy."¹ Signs of awakening soon began to manifest themselves, which, gathering strength under his impressive preaching, on Palm Sunday broke out in a decided and strong religious excitement, which ran through the whole of the Lutheran congregation. On Easter Monday he administered the communion to them, "according to the Lutheran liturgy, but with apostolic powers." A few days before, "all of the Lutheran persuasion, good and bad," had

¹ Weil ihnen nun schiene, als ob der Graf von Zinzendorff und seine Leute so lutherisch predigten, als sies etwa ihr Lebtage gehört und gelesen hatten, so proponirten einige verständige Leute, welche Kirchen-Vorsteher gervesen waren, man möchte den Grafen per deputatum ersuchen, ihnen doch einmahl das Heil-Abendmahl zu reichen. Das geschah Mense Februarii. Er declarirte ihnen, dass er zwar die Lutherischen Principia habe, mit den Lutherischen Praxibus aber übers Knie gespaunt sey, und deprecirte es pro præsenti, versprach ihnen aber in ihrer Scheur ordentlich alle Sonntage das Evangelium auf gut Lutherisch zu predigen, welches sie mit Freuden acceptirten, und von dem Tage an unansgesetzt geschah. — BEDING SAMML., vol. iii.

unanimously¹ elected him as their pastor. He laid down to them certain questions, in writing, pertaining to the relation about to be formed, which were to be answered in writing, and gave them some time for consideration upon them. They were all answered to his satisfaction, and on the second Sabbath after Easter he accepted their call.

Upon this followed a series of strife and trouble which it is not necessary here to describe, and the true ground of which it is perhaps now impossible correctly to understand. It is evident that there was some right and much wrong on both sides. There were evidently innovations from the one side, and unjustifiable protests and resistance on the other. This was, no doubt, the first union church between the Lutherans and Reformed: would it not have been well if it had been the last? Has not the system, while it has worked well in individual cases, been productive of much strife, in general? Both denominations, soon after, began to build separate churches for themselves, in Philadelphia; and, at the end of nine months, the Count left the city. The barn-church, with its scenes of trouble, was abandoned; and all the men who worshipped and erred there have long since appeared before a God who is of greater

¹ It appears, from the later history of this affair, that this unanimity (as is generally the case in such contentions) means a unanimity of the party inclined to the Count, who were the majority, and, consequently, the powers that be. Mention is made, later in the same document, of the opposite party, as: "Die Reformirten sammt den heimlich dahinter gesteckten Lutheranern, wounter aber kein Vorseher war," &c.

mercy than man, and who, we hope, has dealt with them in greater love than they did with one another.

It was not long after this that a difficulty arose between Mr. Boehm and the Moravians, occasioned, it would seem, by the trouble growing out of the affair in the barn-church. Before Count Zinzendorf came to this country, he and some of the ecclesiastical authorities of Holland had come into conflict with one another. Some theologians of Amsterdam had published a pastoral letter against the count's religious position, views, and practices. This publication was also circulated in America, and Mr. Boehm's mind was thus prepared for a disinclination towards the count¹ and his adherents. They were particularly unfriendly to the doctrinal position of the Church of Holland, under the auspices of which Mr. Boehm stood and labored as a minister. He conceived it to be his duty to maintain his doctrine and his Church against what he regarded as the dangerous tenets and practices of the Brethren. Accordingly, he published, in

¹ Nun gab sich zwar der Reformirte Domine Johann Philipp Boehm, welchem der Kirchenrath-Rath zu Amsterdam soll conformirt-haben, und übrigens ein reicher Bush-Bauer in Wispens township, etwa 14 meilm von Philadelphia gelegen, wohnhaft, der nach seiner Gewohnheit dann und wann nach Philadelphia kommb für die Gebühr zu predigen und allerhand dahin zussammen-gesparte Amts-Verrichtunzen vorzumhusen, gvosse Mühe, diese Sache zu verhindern, weil er sich ein Gewissen machte, auf einer Kantzel zu stehn, worauf ein Mann predigte, wider denin Amsterdam ein Herten-Brief geshrieben worden war.—BEDING SAMML., vol. iii.

1742, a pamphlet against the Moravians "residing in the Forks of Delaware." This document we have not been able to procure, but we have seen the reply to it, by George Neisser, schoolmaster in Bethlehem.¹

From this reply, the gist, as well as the animus, of the controversy may be easily discovered. "Mr. Boehm," says the schoolmaster, "has only two ways before him, in his German ministry. Either he teaches the damnable principle of absolute reprobation, in which case he deceives the German Reformed, who have not come hither holding this foolish doctrine; or he does not teach it, and, in that case, he deceives the classis of Amsterdam, which imagines that, according to his bounden duty, he introduces among his Christian brethren the ruinous error: '*That God does not will that all men shall be saved.*' For, in the pastoral letter, this is called a priceless treasure of their Church. The indignation against Count Zinzendorf unquestionably proceeds from the fact that, at the Hague, he bore testimony, to the face of Domine Manger, President of the Synod of Holland, that he held

¹ Aufrichtige Nachricht aus Publicum uber eine von dem Hollandischen Pfaner Joh. Phil. Boehmen bei Mr. Andr. Bradford edvite Laesterschrift gegen die so Genannten Herrnhuter, das ist die Evangelische Brueder aus Boehmen, Maehren etc., welches jetzt in der Forks von Delaware wohnen. Herausgegeben von George Neisser, aus Sehlen in Machren, Schulmeister zu Bethlehem. Cum approbatione superiorum. Phil¹ gedruckt und zu haben bei B. Franklin, 1742. Sam. 2, p. 17.

this position to be an accursed doctrine of Satan. But enough of this."

Again: "John Philip Boehm preaches, it is true, in the German language: he has not, however, been installed by the German consistory, nor can he, as an honest man, preach the German Reformed doctrine; but he is of the sect of the Gomarists, in Holland, which, since the well-known revolt called the Loewensteinisch quarrel, at which time also many of the officers of government lost their heads, has ruled in Holland, oppressing and persecuting the Remonstrants. After he had at first been a schoolmaster in the Palatinate (from which, also, further accounts of him may be obtained), he was here, upon solicitation, constituted a preacher. True, no one will blame the Hollanders for also seeking to extend their authority in Pennsylvania, although the German consistories have a better right to this than they. It cannot, however, be inferred from this, that they have really a right, according to their own pleasure, to reject those ministers who have been regularly ordained for this country by the Royal Prussian Reformed Provost, at Berlin, and bound to the Berner Synod, of which there are already some in this country, and of which still more shall come."¹

We cannot tell what was the character and spirit of Mr. Boehm's pamphlet, but the one written in reply is very deficient in strength, dignity, Christian charity, and social courtesy. Mr. Boehm, who

¹ For an account of this Berner Synod movement, see *Life of Rev. J. Bechtel*. Pam. p. 5.

was then a venerable man in age and in the ministry, is sneeringly called "der reiche Plantage-Mann," the rich farmer, and ridiculed as illiterate.¹

It appears, from an allusion in Mr. Neisser's reply, that Mr. Boehm intended to follow up his pamphlet by a regular weekly publication, devoted to the matters in controversy.² We have no evidence, however, that this design was ever put into execution — a matter certainly not to be regretted. It was better that both parties should do their good work quietly (for both were well employed, in their respective spheres), in peace and love. Men's views and feelings, even on the subject of religion, in all denominations, differ even as their minds and faces, and when one cannot see as the other, there is nothing gained by filling their own eyes and those of others with the dust of intemperate controversy. As family difficulties are best settled in-doors, without arousing the neighbors, so let doctrinal controversies, which must needs come, be attended to in the high places of the Church, in her seminaries and universities. Not only vain, but wicked, in such cases, is an appeal to the popular feeling, which, as it rendered unholy service in the trial

¹ Der Weder auf der schule oder Plantages lernet, &c. "Wenn der gute mann sein amt wie bisher, zu seines hauses vorthail, und im übrigen seine wirthschaft triebe so gut er sie versteht, und sein amt zum dienst seiner eigenen familie brauchte so gut er könne, so gienge es uns nichts an das wir ihn solten richten: Denn was gehn uns die draussen an."

² Page 4: Verspricht er seine gewissenlosen Nachricht zu continuiren, und zwar wöchentlich.

of Jesus, so will it ever do in the trial of His truth.

Mr. Boehm's firmness in his attachment to the peculiarities of his own Church, and his persevering resistance to the innovations of those who labored to supersede the old Church organizations by the establishment of "the Congregation of God in the Spirit,"¹ very much vexed and wearied some of the zealots of that day. From a curious source they drew their comfort, and with a strange patience did they wait for the salvation of the Lord. "The Saviour," so they consoled themselves, "in His own time, when He shall be weary of Mr. Boehm, will see that the poor Reformed Church shall be delivered from him, that the Reformed ministers, who are only concerned for the good of souls, may labor for the salvation of their people, with united hands, and with their number increased."²

Mr. Boehm, after Mr. Schlatter's arrival, fell in heartily with his mission and work, lending him all possible assistance, with his influence and personal activity. He was secretary of Cœtus, in 1748: a copy of the minutes, in his own hand, is still extant. Though pressed by age and infirmity, he visited distant congregations, at Mr. Schlatter's request, as Tulpehocken, Magunchy, Egypt, and other settlements. Besides his own neighborhood, he continued to preach in Philadelphia and Ger-

¹ See Life of Rev. Jacob Lischy.

² Bed. Saml., vol. ii. p. 906.

mantown, until the middle of the year 1747, when, according to his own earnest entreaty, Mr. Schlatter relieved him of those two congregations, after the venerable father had solemnly installed him as their pastor. He gave as the reason why he desired to be relieved, the growing infirmities of old age.

Confining now his labors to a narrower circle, he continued zealous for Christ and the Church up to the day of his death. He died suddenly, May 1, 1749, at the house of his oldest son, after he had yet, on the previous day, administered the Holy Supper, in the Egypt congregation. He was buried in the inside of the church, called still after his name; and his resting-place is in the south-east corner of the present church, covered with an arch, which was built in 1818, when the new church was erected on the site of the old.

On the 7th, Mr. Schlatter, who was absent on a missionary tour when Mr. Boehm's death occurred, improved the occasion and honored his memory with a funeral sermon, delivered in the church at Germantown; and he testifies that "his memory is cherished as blessed by many."

Mr. Boehm became possessed of a large quantity of land, in Whitpain, at an early day, when it was cheap, and also in and near Philadelphia, by the rise in the value of which, in his old age, he became very rich, though it does not appear that he set his heart on it.

Mr. Boehm had a number of children, who

resided principally in Montgomery county and in Philadelphia, where there are still numerous highly respectable descendants. He held extensive correspondence with the Church in Europe, at an early day; and was careful to preserve all such letters, documents, and records, as pertained to the business of the Church, in those primitive days. These he carefully kept in a large iron-bound chest. After his death, the chest fell successively into the hands of his descendants, and was kept for a long time, till, at length, it found its way into the garret of a house in Third street, Philadelphia. At length that descendant sold his house, and the "old chest, with its old and useless papers, in Dutch German and Latin, which nobody could read," was left in the garret. As the new king which arose in Egypt knew not Joseph, so the man who bought the house knew now that any tale hung by that old chest and its papers, and placed no store by them.

Several years ago, we heard of this venerable chest; and, after much correspondence on the subject, and, having secured a venerable descendant of Father Boehm as pilot, we began our Philadelphia garret explorations, in good earnest. We soon got on the trail of it, saw persons who had seen it, found the places where it had been, and at length came to the identical garret where it was last known to have been. Alas! after all our pains, we came only to the knowledge of this one verity, that the papers were all burned about twenty-five years ago!

There is no use either in weeping or growing indignant. The folly has been perpetrated! It was a small trouble, and required little wit and wisdom, to burn those records of historical facts, but no amount of pains and research can ever restore them to the Church.

REV. JOHANNES HENRICUS GOETSCHIEY.

JOH. HENRICUS GOETSCHIEY, or GOETSCHIUS, as he sometimes wrote his name, giving it the Latin termination, was a native of the canton of Zurich, in Switzerland.¹

It is to be regretted that the materials are not at hand for a full sketch of this servant of God. He was one of the first regular ministers of the German Reformed Church in Pennsylvania. There were not wanting, at that early day, such as undertook, without ordination, to pass themselves off for regular ministers, and thus to perform ministerial acts. Mr. Goetschies indirectly refers to this fact, in the inscription on the first page of the Church record, at Goshenhoppen, telling us that the children baptized, and the records of the same made in that book, has been done by legitimate ministers.² Ministerial acts had, no doubt, previous to his

¹ "Joh. Henricus Goetschies, V. D. M. Helvetiæ Tiguriney et pronuncias veritatem die nunc Schippack," etc., etc. So he wrote, under his name, on the title-page of the Church record, at Goshenhoppen.

² "Von den rechtmässigen Lehrern hier eingezeichnet worden."

coming there, been irregularly performed, which gave occasion for this allusion, in the record.

When Mr. Goetschies arrived in this country, we have not been able to ascertain. He appears to have come in as a candidate, not yet ordained; and, in this capacity, preached the Word for some years, as a kind of itinerant missionary, travelling over a large district, among the German settlers of Pennsylvania. His license seems, however, to have included, in some way, the authority to administer the sacraments—an authority which was at that time communicated, in extraordinary cases, to licentiates, and is yet done, even in ordinary cases, in the Lutheran Church.

In January, 1730, he took charge of the congregation at New Goshenhoppen, and lived somewhere in that region. The congregation had, at the time, forty-five heads of families. His hand-writing appears in the record up to 1739. While he continued here, as appears from the records, he also preached at all the following places, all of which are mentioned on the title-page, as composing his charge, thus: "Schippach, Alt Cosihenhopen, Neu Cosihenhopen, Schwam, Sacon, Ægypten, Macidonia, Missillen, Oli, Bern, et Dolpenhagen." These congregations, though some of them may have existed in a loose and irregular manner, were, no doubt, first brought by him, in some degree, into regular organizations.

The power of bestowing full ordination did not, at that time, exist either in the Dutch Reformed or German Reformed ministers in America. Hence,

application for the ordination of Mr. Goetschies was made to the Presbyterian Synod of Philadelphia. On the minutes of that body, under date May 25, 1737, we find a notice, as follows:

“A letter was brought in from Mr. Henricus Goetschius to Mr. Andrews, signifying his desire, and the desire of many people of the German nation, that he might be ordained by order of synod to the work of the ministry; upon which the said Mr. Goetschius was desired to appear before the synod, that they might see his credentials, and have some discourse with him; which being done, he produced testimonials from Germany, which were ample and satisfactory to the synod, respecting his learning and good Christian conversation; whereupon he was recommended to the care of the presbytery of Philadelphia, to act, upon further trials of him, with respect to his ordination, as to them should seem fit.”¹ He was afterwards regularly ordained by that body to the office of the holy ministry. He continued, however, to be a German Reformed minister.

As Schippach is the first mentioned in the list of churches composing the charge of Rev. Goetschies, it is probable that he lived there. This congregation was organized by Rev. Weiss, in 1727, and there, we are told, “the German Palatines were more thickly settled than in other parts.”² As Mr. Weiss went to Europe on a collecting tour for the Church, in 1729, it seems that Mr. Goetschies

¹ Records of the Presb. Church, p. 131.

² See Life of Weiss.

took his place in that charge, extending his pious missionary labors over the vast territory indicated by these various names, including the principal settled valleys from the Delaware to the Susquehanna.

How interesting it would be to see this region of country as it then was, and to follow this man of God in his travels over mountains and through the wildernesses lying between these valleys, visiting the scattered families, and preaching to the feeble congregations which were just germinating in their midst! What a rare privilege for the people to hear a sermon then! and how still more rare the joy of having a pastor visit them in their houses! for, as soon as his duty in one pulpit was fulfilled, he must hasten away to a distant point. How much more richly has God blessed us in our day, though perhaps we deserve it less, and are far more slow to improve our superior advantages! May we have grace to make returns of love and devotion, according as our mercies have been many and great! The record-book in the "Egypter" congregation, in what is now Lehigh county, shows pretty clearly that he organized that Church. The record-book was commenced by Mr. Goetschies, March 22, 1733. There is also a baptism recorded by him as late as October 26, 1736.

After 1739 the hand-writing of Mr. Goetschies no more appears on the records of any of the churches. It is likely that he died about that time, or soon after. This seems the more certain, as Mr. Schlatter does not mention him, who, had he still

lived, would have found in him a warm-hearted co-worker, in his labors among the German churches of Pennsylvania. Record and tradition, so far as they speak of his labors, unite in bearing testimony to his worth. And though, as in the case of Moses, "no man knoweth of his sepulchre unto this day," yet we have the good assurance that, for more than a century, he has been in "joy and felicity," whither "his works do follow him."

Mr. Goetschies had a son, who bore precisely his father's name. He also became a minister, and afterwards was a prominent man in the Dutch Reformed Church in New Jersey.

REV. JOHN BARTHOLOMAUS
REIGER.

1707 — 1769.

THE REV. JOHN BARTHOLOMAUS REIGER was born in Oberengelheim, in the Palatinate, on the Rhine, on the 10th of January, 1707. He studied, it seems, for some time, in Basle, and afterwards graduated in the University of Heidelberg. He arrived in this country in September, 1731. He was also a physician, but whether he studied medicine in Europe or in this country, is not known. The letters V. D. M. are not affixed to his name in the Colonial Records, where the names of the emigrants are taken down;¹ whereas, in other circumstances, of the arrival of ministers, this was done; which may indicate that he was not yet ordained at the time of his emigration to this country. Probably he came as a physician, and felt himself pressed into the holy service, after his arrival, by the peculiar wants of the time: it may be, also, that he modestly declined affixing his title to his name, on the Records.

He settled in Lancaster, but his field of labor

¹ Coll. Records, vol. iv. p. 414.

lay not so much in the town as in the country. In the town, he was evidently only a kind of supply when they had no stated pastor, which was frequently the case for the first ten years after its organization, in 1736.

When Mr. Schlatter began his missionary visits among the German settlements, he visited Mr. Reiger, and found him supplying the congregation in Lancaster. On the 23d of September, 1746, Mr. Schlatter went "to Lancaster, in Canastota, to visit the Rev. Mr. Reiger and his church, between which some difficulties had arisen."

It seems that Mr. Reiger withdrew from the congregation soon after Mr. Schlatter's visit. He says of the people, in his Journal: "They were unanimous in desiring a stated preacher. The Rev. Mr. Reiger himself judged this best, as he and the church could not agree, although they had no important complaints to make of each other." The people's desire for a *stated* preacher would indicate that Mr. Reiger was not so regarded by them. He seems only to have preached at intervals, when they had no pastor, which, as already said, previous to 1746, was frequently the case.

He continued to reside in Lancaster, but he was no more invited to preach, even though they had no stated pastor for several years later. He and the congregation could not agree, and the alienation on their part gradually grew into a settled dislike. The cause of his unpopularity cannot, perhaps, now be correctly ascertained. Dr. Mayer, in a private letter, has suggested that "it was,

probably, his cold, languid, and heartless ministry." From some hints which tradition has preserved, as well as from what the case itself suggests, we may suppose, with a tolerable degree of certainty, that his attention to the practice of medicine interfered with his ministry to such an extent, as to become unpleasant to the people. As no man can serve two masters, so no man can attend properly to two professions.

After 1746, while he still resided in Lancaster, he preached statedly in Schäfer's church, now Shaferstown, in Lebanon county, which, it is probable, was previously a part of his charge; as also in Zeldenrich's, near Earltown, now New Holland. This congregation he had served previous to 1749.¹

Mr. Schlatter speaks of him as a "regular minister." He was one of the four—Boehm, Weiss, Reiger, and Dorsitus—who united with Schlatter in the first synod in Philadelphia, Sept. 29, 1747. Of these ministers, Schlatter says: "These brethren have shown themselves very friendly. They have fully respected my synodical instructions, yielded to them, so far as they are concerned, and have most frankly tendered their exertions to support and assist me, as far as possible, in the discharge of the duties of my commission."

Mr. Reiger died in Lancaster, March 11, 1769, and is buried near the south-west corner of the First German Reformed Church. A large stone, lying horizontally, marks and covers his grave, on

¹ Schlatter's Journal.

which the following inscription is still quite legible,
 re give correctly, spelling, capital letters,
 arrangement of the lines.

Hier Ruhet
 der EHRWURDIGE HERR
 JOHAN BARTHOLOMAUS
 RIEGER, Gewesener
 Evangelischer REFORMIRTER
 PREDIGER dieser und
 noch Anderer GEMEINDEN
 wie auch Erfahrener
 DOCTOR MEDECINE.
 Er war Geboren in EUROPA
 zu Oberengelheim
 CHURPFALTZ, den 10 Januar
 1707, und verschied den 11
 Martz 1769, Seines Alters
 62 Jahre 2 Monat.
 Hast du zum Artz und Lehrer Jesum
 angenommen so Wirst du auch durch
 ihn zum ewigen Leben Komen denn
 Kunst und Wissenschaft sind
 Eitelkeit alhier, Dis Sterblicher
 Kan ich in Wahrheit sagen dir

REV. JOHN PETER MILLER.

1715—1796.

REV. GEORGE MICHAEL WEISS, who was sent as a missionary to America, in 1726, by the upper consistory of Heidelberg, Rev. John Peter Miller, who followed him, in 1730, and Rev. John Bartholomaeus Reiger, who came after them, in 1731, all studied in the University of Heidelberg, the first two at the same time, as fellow-students. They were acquaintances in the fatherland, and, through their intimacy, were drawn after one another into the New World, to labor in the vineyard of the Lord, among their scattered and destitute brethren of the German Reformed faith.

Mr. Miller was a native of Oberampt Lautern, in the Palatinate. The exact time of his birth is not known: it was, however, about 1715. He came to this country, as a candidate for the holy ministry, soon after he had finished his literary and theological studies, arriving in Philadelphia, in company with 260 Palatinate emigrants, August 29, 1730.

There being as yet no Reformed synod, and, consequently, no power of ordination in the Reformed Church in this country, he applied, soon after his arrival, to the synod of the Presbyterian

church for full induction into the holy office. In the records of the Synod of Philadelphia, held September 16th, 1730, we read: "It is agreed by the Synod, that Mr. John Peter Miller, a Dutch (German) probationer, lately come over, be left to the care of the Presbytery of Philadelphia to settle him in the work of the ministry." About the close of the year, he was "ordained in the old Presbyterian meeting-house, by three eminent ministers, Tennant, Andrews, and Boyd."

Some flattering testimonies to his fine talents and learning are extant. Rev. Jedediah Andrews, a graduate of Harvard college, of the class of 1695, and, as early as 1698, a Presbyterian minister in Philadelphia, in a letter to Mr. Prince, of Boston, dated Philadelphia, Aug. 14th, 1730, says: "There is lately come over a Palatine candidate of the ministry, who, having applied to us at the Synod for ordination, it is left to three ministers to do it. He is an extraordinary person for sense and learning. We gave him a question to discuss about Justification, and he has answered it in a whole sheet of paper in a very notable manner. His name is John Peter Miller, and speaks Latin as well as we do our vernacular tongue; and so does the other, Mr. Weiss."¹

At that time, the settlement of Tulpehocken was made up entirely of German Protestants, who were "church people," as they were then called, either German Reformed or Lutherans. They were the same who, in 1711, had come to the Province

of New York at Queen Anne's expense, and who, having been invited to Pennsylvania by Governor Kieth in 1722, came under the conduct of Conrad Weiser to the head waters of the Susquehanna, built themselves rude rafts, floated down the North Branch, then down the main river to the mouth of Swatara, and then up that stream as far as they could, and effected a settlement on the fine rich lands of the far-famed Tulpehocken. On account of the great religious confusion which reigned in the land, bewildering the people, so that many scarcely knew what to believe, or what practices in religion to sanction and adopt, the settlers at Tulpehocken took special pains to keep all religious vagaries out of their circle. This led many like-minded persons from various parts of the land to move in among them. In 1731, they called Mr. Miller as their Pastor, who also removed among them, and labored with good success for the space of four years, when he fell under fanatical influence, which drew him from the German Reformed church.

It happened in this wise: In 1732, Conrad Biesel, who, in 1724, was baptized by Peter Becker, in Pequae Creek, Lancaster county, Pa., into the faith of the German Baptists, and had afterwards lived some time as a hermit in a cave on the Cocalico creek, founded a conventicle or society of monastic life at Ephrata, having in 1728 adopted the seventh day of the week, instead of the first, as the Sabbath. Wishing to increase his community, and being especially desirous "that God would place

his light upon a candlestick in the dark region of Tulpehocken," he was constrained, in 1735, to visit that settlement, accompanied by some of his disciples.

Though this implied censure is spoken in the style of a fanatic, yet there seems to have been at least some ground for it in the moral and religious condition of the Tulpehocken people at the time. As is too often the case, in their zeal to keep fanaticism *out* of their circle, they were not so diligent as they should have been to cherish the true christian spirit *within*. The annals of the times speak of them as "unruly Germans," and as "crowds of bold and indigent strangers from Germany, many of whom had been soldiers." This language, it is true, is to be taken in part as the surly tirade of a politician, who feared the growing influence of the Germans, yet there is truth at the bottom of it. It is in such communities that fanaticism most easily finds entrance. No doubt the discouragements of Mr. Miller, arising from a low state of piety among his people, had something to do with his defection from the church.

Mr. Biessel was received in Tulpehocken "by the minister and elders according to his dignity as a messenger of God." On his return he was accompanied on his way about six miles over the mountain by Rev. Mr. Miller and the celebrated Indian interpreter, Conrad Weiser, who was at that time a Lutheran elder. The result was "a revival;" and on a Sabbath in May, 1735, Rev. Mr. Miller, Conrad Weiser, the schoolmaster at Tulpehocken,

three elders, besides a number of heads of families, who were all subjects of it, were baptized, by immersion, into the new faith.¹ Mr. Miller seems to have been at once strongly overpowered with what he regarded as a sense of duty to join the Society of Beissel. "I never had an inclination to join with it," he says, "because of the contempt and reproach which lay on the same; but my inward conductor brought me to that critical dilemma, either to be a member of this new institution, or to consent to my own damnation, when also I was forced to choose the first." The conversion of Mr. Miller and the rest to the new faith, as may well be supposed, produced a great excitement among the people of his flock, and he himself seems to have been not quite free from the consternation which his act was producing in others. "When we were conducted to the water," he further tells us, "I did not much differ from a poor criminal under sentence of death. However, the Lord our God did strengthen me, when I came out of the water; and then I in a solemn manner renounced my life with all its prerogatives without reservation; and I found by experience in subsequent times, that all this was put in the divine records; for God never failed in his promise to assist me in time of need."²

These were the first fruits; but some others followed, and "the door remained open for some time

¹ Chronicon Ephratense, p. 58.

² Hazard's Register, vol. xvi. p. 255.

to the fugitives from Babel." Unfortunately, the gains of this revival, as has a thousand times been the case with similar ones, did not prove to be permanent. Only two men, of whom one was Mr. Miller, and one woman, "remained faithful to the end." Conrad Weiser was soon "caught in the net of his own wisdom." The Prior, Mr. Biessel, through whose instrumentality he had been converted, informs us that on one occasion, "when he was washing Mr. Weiser's feet, he discovered by the feel of his feet that he was exposed to a particular kind of temptation, and spoke to him in regard to it." But notwithstanding the warnings of the prophecy drawn from his feet, "the avenger of blood got the power over him," and although "he was so reduced by a severe work of penitence," and "left his beard grow, so that scarcely any man knew him any more," and "freely gave part of his property to build up the new economy," yet he endured only for awhile, and then fell away.

Strange, that a man with Mr. Miller's talents and education, and, we may add, earnest religious spirit, at a time, too, when ministers in the German Reformed church in the New World were so much needed, should imagine it to be his duty to withdraw into a hermit-life — flying from the world instead of battling for God in it. Yet, so his "awakened" and "enlightened" mind was now led to believe. "At that time the solitary brethren and sisters lived dispersed in the wilderness of Conestoga, each for himself, as hermits; and I, following that same way, did set up my hermitage in Tul-

pehocken, at the foot of a mountain, on a limpid spring; the house is still extant (1790) there, with an old orchard. There did I lay the foundation of solitary life." This, however, seems not long to have satisfied his taste. In hermit-life, as in other things —

"'Tis distance lends enchantment to the view."

So our hermit found it. "The melancholy temptations which did trouble me every day, did prognosticate to me misery and afflictions." Accordingly, he left his lonely abode in the following November, when the cold, dark, and dreary days of winter began to bring shadows over his spirit.

Mr. Beissel now proposed to place him again in his former field of labor in Tulpehocken, that, under his care, "the revival there might be kept in the hands of the Spirit." This, however, after much consideration, he declined. He then made application by a letter to be received into the camp at Ephrata. The "brethren" did not believe "such an one" would be able to endure the severe manner of life there practised, and advised against his reception. But Mr. Beissel had more faith in his eminent convert, and by his influence he was the same autumn fully received into the community of the faithful at Ephrata.

Here, under the name of Jabez, he lived a quiet life as a Protestant monk, using a hard board for a bed at night, and devoting himself by day to what he imagined to be the service of God in a severe self-castigation. After the first Prior, Israel Eck-

erlin, or Onesimus, betrayed the society, endeavoring secretly to possess himself of the titles of their extensive landed property, our Jabez was advanced to the dignity of Prior, March 23d, 1746. After Eckerlin's defection, the office of Prior was difficult to fill, for the reason that the incumbent was watched with a close and suspicious eye. The spiritual fold was not free from party preference, and even there ambition's unholy fires would kindle in some bosoms. A brother, who went by the name of Jethro, and who had served as a kind of pro tempore Prior between Onesimus and Jabez, was still a favorite with some, and the number who desired him in the office increased, so that, on the 5th of September, 1746, Jabez resigned his office. He humbly attributed his want of success to a secret pride, which he believed had overcome him by wearing the peculiar dress of his office, and also confessed that he had had some hand in the deceptions of Eckerlin. He fell into deep distress, from which he only found relief after he had taken his whole regalia off, and laid it at the feet of the superior, Mr. Beissel. He now humbly begged to be retained in the society, and was permitted to take the place of a common brother. Still, he had for some time to contend with a secret, unpleasant feeling, which the recent events had left behind, which, however, he overcame by composing a hymn in praise of his successor in the office, which, like a charm, restored the very best feelings all around.

Jabez now became a more faithful brother than ever; and to such an extent did he grow in the

confidence of the community, that he was again elected Prior.

July 6th, 1768, Conrad Beissel, the superior, was removed by death. "This was a great stroke for me," says Mr. Miller, "as I was obliged to succeed him." The society continued to flourish under his administration, till about 1780, when it began to decline. Some say this was owing to want of energy in Miller, whilst others pronounce him superior, in this respect, to Mr. Beissel himself. Reflecting persons, who have been taught by history, will account for its decline upon the principle of self-exhaustion, to the law of which all movements of the kind are subject. A willow branch cut from the tree will grow till the life it carried away from the trunk is expended, then it dies. Or, to use our Saviour's illustration, that growth which has no depth of earth endureth only a certain time. Any isolated movement of the kind, that has its origin in the force and influence of some individual ruling mind, begins to decline soon after he, as its soul, is removed from its midst. A sect here can have no successor, and no after history but that of decline.

This process of decline grew with the age of Mr. Miller. In a letter to Mr. Barton, of Philadelphia, December 5, 1790, he says: "The question is now much agitated, whether our order will be propagated to posterity? In my opinion it will, according to the substance; but in what form it will appear, in after-times, is to me a mystery. Our president did once declare to his intimates,

that he had received assurance from God that seed of his work shall remain till the second coming of Christ."

Mr. Miller, in the same letter, remarks that "age, infirmity, and defect of sight," are growing upon him. He lived some years longer, however, and died September 25, 1796, having been connected with the society about sixty-one years. He is buried in the grave-yard at Ephrata.

Though every reflecting man must regard Mr. Miller's defection from the Church, which at the time so greatly needed his services, as an error into which he suffered himself too easily to be deluded, yet he seems to have maintained his Christian integrity to the last. Nor does it appear that he materially changed his doctrinal views, though he sometimes speaks in a way to lead one to think that he attached something like merit to the severe discipline and "voluntary humility" to which he subjected himself, under the system which he had adopted. "We have no creeds," he says: "our standard is the New Testament;" which means, of course, that they had no creeds except their own individual judgment, by which they must necessarily take out of the Scriptures what that judgment puts into it—the most arbitrary and dangerous of all creeds.

Mr. Miller seems to have been comparatively free from that censoriousness which generally characterizes fanatical sectaries. "I always carefully avoided all polemics, and study to live in peace with all denominations." He was generally re-

spected by ministers and Christians who knew him.

Though withdrawn from the world, he was not idle. "He was well known in the religious and literary world. It is said he translated the Declaration of Independence into seven languages. His correspondence was extensive. He was visited by hundreds; and General Lee, David Rittenhouse, Count Zinzendorf, and several noblemen from Europe, were, at different times, the guests of the establishment."¹

¹ Rupp's Hist. of Lan. County, p. 229.

REV. JOHN BECHTEL.

1690—1777.

AMONG those ministers who labored in the interests of the German Reformed in this country, previous to the arrival of Mr. Schlatter and the regular organization of the synod, Rev. John Bechtel is richly deserving of notice. Though an unlearned man, and constrained by the force of circumstances to labor for some time in a way not ecclesiastically regular, and under the influence of doctrinal and practical genius and spirit somewhat foreign to the Reformed Church, yet he was an earnest, well-meaning, pious man, and was evidently instrumental in doing much good in his time. We will give the main facts of his early history, in his own words.¹

“I was born October 3, A. D. 1690, at the Bergstrasse, in the Palatinate, to which place my parents had fled when the town of Frauenthal, where they had previously resided, was burned by the French. My parents were careful to keep me regularly at school, and to train me in connection with the Church. In the ninth year of my

¹ See “Das Brüder-Blatt,” edited by Rev. Levin T. Reichel, of Salem, N. C., 4ter Jahrgang, No. 2, pp. 45-6-7.

age, my mother died; and, when I was in my fourteenth year, my father followed her into eternity.

“In the year 1704 I was placed, as an apprentice, under the instructions of a turner, in Heidelberg, where I was diligently kept to the reading of the Bible, and attendance upon the services of the church, and, in these exercises, felt many gracious influences in my heart. In 1709 I set out on the usual travels of a journeyman, and, through my companions, lost my previous pious simplicity; and I must confess, to my shame, that I became pretty frivolous, so that, among the wildest scenes, I felt most at home. This continued for the space of about three years, when my Saviour began to convict me in my heart in such a manner, that often, in the gayest company, I felt alarm; and His disciplining grace wrought so mightily in me, that, when I returned to my home, everything that I had done wrong during the day came up before me. At such times, I would often shed many tears, and promise to do better, without reflecting that I could not do this in my own strength, till at last I remembered our Saviour’s words: ‘Without me ye can do nothing.’ Then I began with tears to pray that He might have mercy on me, and forgive me all my sins. I also sought to withdraw myself more and more from all vain associates.

“In 1714 I suffered my friends to persuade me to set up my trade in Heidelberg; and, in 1715, I married my beloved wife, who, in 1758, in Bethlehem, was removed to her dear Saviour. In our

union, which lasted forty-three years, God gave us nine children, of which five daughters are yet living. I have also lived to see thirty-eight grandchildren, and sixteen great-grand-children. It is my wish and prayer that they may all grow up for our dear Saviour, and that none of them may be lost!

“In 1717 I removed to Frauenthal, where I resided till 1726, when, with my wife and three children, I removed to Pennsylvania. I lived nearly twenty years in Germantown. In 1738 I became acquainted with brother Spangenberg, when he resided with Wiegner, in Schippach, to which place we were in the habit of going on a visit, once in four weeks. The sainted brother Antes, Stiefel, Adam Gruber, myself, and others from Germantown, enjoyed many blessed hours together. In 1742, when the dear departed disciple, Count Zinzendorf, came to Pennsylvania, I became acquainted with him and other brethren. My heart at once felt a tender inclination towards them, and I loved them sincerely. When I for the first time heard the count preach in the church at Germantown, I said in my heart: Yes, this is truly the only and true ground of salvation, Jesus Christ and his merits and sufferings—other foundation can no man lay—through His death alone has life been secured to us.

“From this time on, the Brethren (Moravian) were my pleasantest society in my house; and when hatred and bitterness in the country against them began, I also received my honest share; for

my Reformed brethren in Germantown and vicinity, whom I had served as preacher for sixteen years, according to a call from them, and a written confirmation of it from Heidelberg, in Germany, now began considerably to trouble me, till, in 1744, they put me out altogether. This was done on Sabbath, the 9th of February. The decision of the congregation was:

“‘Jerusalem that is above,
Is the mother of us all.
It is in the east and west,
For those that are pressed
Still always much the best
Out of the Church.’¹

“When I heard the decision, it was a true comfort to me; and, from that time on, I felt assured in my heart that I belonged to the Brethren Church. I prayed to the Saviour to grant me this

¹ The German runs thus:

“Das Jerusalem das droben,
Ist unser aller Mutter.
Es ist in Ost und Westen,
Für die geprestzten,
Noch immer was zum besten
Aus der Gemein.”

This decision is, of course, ironically put into the mouth of the congregation, implying that, in voting him out, on account of his attachment to the peculiar religious ways and practices then in vogue, and which claimed credit for superior piety, they virtually decided thus. He speaks in the tone of the persecuted, and implies that he was suffering under their disapprobation for righteousness' sake. The reader will find more light on this translation farther on in our sketch.

grace, and bring me to this Unity. He heard my prayer; and, after I had several times asked it of the Brethren, in 1746, I obtained leave to remove to Bethlehem, which, to my great joy, was done on the 13th of September of the same year. Now, thought I, will I live for my dear Saviour alone; and by His grace I will be contented and blest. And so may He keep me until my end!"

So far has Mr. Bechtel related the interesting story of his life. "Here, in Bethlehem," adds Rev. L. T. Reichel, "he willingly and joyfully served the Unity and Church, in every way, and especially by his trade. He was, for many years, president of the Board of Wardens, and bore the interests of Christ and the congregation on his heart. He spent his time, and especially after the death of his wife, in quiet, hearty, and affectionate communion with the dear Saviour. The beautiful services of the Lord were his greatest delight, and no small cause could induce him to be absent from a service. As he sincerely loved all, so in return was he beloved of all. In December, 1776, he began to be sickly, and died on the 16th of April, 1777, in the eighty-seventh year of his age."

Mr. Bechtel, it seems, began to preach for the German Reformed, at Germantown, in the year 1728, but without, at the time, having had a regularly ecclesiastical induction into the holy office. At first, he held religious services in his own house, not only on the Sabbath, but every morning and evening on week-days; and there being a considerable number of German Reformed in and

around that place, they built a small church for him, in 1733, and gave him a regular call. Though not yet ordained, he had received a license to preach the Gospel, from the authorities in Heidelberg.

He has not mentioned, in the brief sketch of his life, that, April 18, 1742, he was ordained, in Germantown, by Rev. David Nitschman, a bishop in the Moravian Church, as German Reformed minister in that place.

The remark that a Moravian bishop ordained a man to be a German Reformed minister, to be placed over a German Reformed congregation, needs explanation. This is necessary, as well to understand Mr. Bechtel's position whilst he was in the Reformed Church, as also his falling into bad favor with his congregation, and his final transfer of himself into the Moravian Unity.

It is known that the old Moravian Unity, in Europe, was dispersed by persecution, under the bigoted Ferdinand II., of Austria. Though all seemed hopeless for the exiled Brethren, oppressed in their own country, or scattered into others, yet the last of the bishops of the old Moravian Church was deeply impressed with the feeling, that the Church would again be restored, in future, and, accordingly, made provision for transmitting the succession. The ordination was communicated to Daniel Ernst Jablonsky, Reformed antistes (or bishop) and court-preacher, in Berlin, Prussia. Though there was, at the time, no Moravian organization in Prussia or Poland, yet there were refugees scattered throughout the kingdom, who,

for the time, were in the Established Church, which was a kind of union of both Reformed and Lutheran; and, so far as the Moravians were in the Reformed churches, they were under the nominal care of Jablonsky, and he was, therefore, called also "Bishop of the Reformed Brethren Unity in Poland," having held that position since 1699. Jablonsky was a man of very catholic sentiments, and had long and earnestly labored to effect a union of the Reformed and Lutherans in Prussia, and was possessed of the warmest sympathy towards the Moravian brethren.

When, in the providence of God, the time came for the formal reorganization of the Brethren's unity, Jablonsky, in connection with Sitkowitz, a Polish antistes, ordained David Nitschman, the first bishop of the renewed Brethren Church, in Berlin, on the 13th of March, 1735. He was designated more immediately as a laborer in the Moravian colonies and missions outside Europe, in foreign parts. In the same year, Bishop Nitschman accompanied a band of Brethren to Georgia, and from thence returned to Europe, in 1736, through South Carolina, Pennsylvania, and New York. In 1737, he assisted Bishop Jablonsky in the ordination of Count Zinzendorf. In 1740 he came again to Pennsylvania, bought the land on which Bethlehem now stands, had some houses built, and made arrangements for the establishment of a Unity there, and spent most of his time there till 1744.

Between the years 1736 and 1744, religious affairs were in a peculiar condition, among the

Germans in Pennsylvania. There was as yet no regular ecclesiastical organization either among the German Reformed, Lutherans, Moravians, or small German communions. Yet there were many Germans, and some ministers and small congregations, among them all. Besides, there was a large amount of separatistic and pietistic feeling, which began itself to sigh after some fellowship. Regarding itself as the salt and leaven of American Christianity among the Germans, and true to its well-meant but mistaken theory, it regarded "the Church people" as dead and formal, and saw no hope for the religious salvation of the country, but in an effort to unite the pious and "awakened" of all denominations in "a congregation of God in the Spirit." "Pennsylvania," they exclaimed, "is a complete Babel, out of which it is, first of all, necessary to redeem the sighing captives; and, in the accomplishment of this, no ordinary rules can be observed—everything must be carried through by apostolic power."¹ This movement developed itself more and more, till, at length, in January, 1742, a convention of such as favored it was called, to meet in Germantown, in Mr. Bechtel's church, who was a warm friend of the movement. Seven successive synods of the kind were held in the first half of the same year; and, at the third one, the congregation of God in the Spirit was fully formed. This union allowed ministers, congregations, and members, to remain in their

¹ Beding. Samml., vol. ii. p. 795.

former ecclesiastical connection, and, subordinately to this unity, to control their own affairs: it was to be a unity "in the Spirit."¹

Bishop Nitschman, as well as Count Zinzendorf, who arrived near the end of the year 1741, favored this movement, and the latter, especially, soon became its ruling spirit. He preached in the German Reformed church in Germantown, soon after his arrival, Dec. 31, 1741, and very much charmed Mr. Bechtel, who now yielded himself up completely to the scheme of the "congregation of God in the Spirit," which was not, however, to conflict with his position as a German Reformed minister. He was, therefore, ordained as such by Bishop Nitschman.

Meanwhile, there were other German Reformed ministers in the land who not only stood aloof from this movement, regarding it, as it really was, a union on the surface—a compromise which required important principles to be suppressed, and the giving of undue prominence to subordinate matters. It found a prominent opposer in Rev. Boehm, who wrote a pamphlet against it, especially as it included what he regarded as unsound Moravian elements. The Moravians replied.² Mr. Boehm believed it his duty to maintain the Reformed position, as represented by the Church of Holland, under whose auspices he had received his ordination, and under whose care he now stood.

¹ For a full account of this whole movement, see the *Life of Rev. Jacob Lischy*.

² See *Life of Rev. Boehm*.

His supposed high-toned Calvinism was especially offensive to the friends of the "congregation of God in the Spirit." The Reformed in this Unity, and especially Mr. Bechtel, labored to establish the German Reformed congregations in this country, on the basis of the articles of the Synod of Bern, adopted in 1532,¹ before Calvinism was in vogue, and which is silent on all its points, thus passing over the Heidelberg Catechism itself. This basis was selected for the Reformed Tropos in this Union, it seems, because it was a particular favorite of Zinzendorf himself, who praised the articles of the Bern Synod in the highest terms.²

It is evident, from the proceedings of this spiritual Unity, that the Reformed wing was designed to consolidate a type of Reformed religion, in direct antagonism to the Reformed church, as it then existed in the country, and had been represented by Boehm, Weiss, Dorstius, Goetschies, and others. In one (the 7th) of their meetings, they speak somewhat heroically thus: "The gracious election of the first-fruits out of all people, and of the disciples of the Lamb, and the secure reward obtained by suffering for his martyrs in body and in soul, is the most precious divine truth. But, because all those Preachers which come from the Classis of Holland, are bound in their consciences to teach that God does not wish to save all people, the entire Reformed church in Pennsylvania is hereby warned

¹ See the Life of Haller.

² See Spangenberg's Life of Zinzendorf, Part v. p. 1331.

in the most solemn manner: We will prove before an assembly of them all, that whoever does not bring this doctrine with him to America, and advocate it here, is not acknowledged by them as a true teacher; but that whoever brings this doctrine with him, is absolutely necessitated to contradict the Apostles and Prophets. Inasmuch as we can call our own countrymen to witness that in Germany we did not believe this bold, adventurous doctrine, let each one consider for himself whether he will learn it here, or, for the sake of any man's self-interest, whether he will help in deceiving the Amsterdam Classis, who imagine that it is here taught as a fundamental doctrine, or whether all those who approve of the twelve articles of the Bern Synod, will openly acknowledge their adherence to this basis, and see that the office of the ministry in this country is conducted in agreement with it. Their well-known and faithful Bechtel, who has now for fifteen years preached the gospel for them in all simplicity, Henry Antes, Peter Miller, and the former bookkeeper in Basle, John Brandmüller, offer to take all sincere Reformed souls under their tenderest care, without designing in so doing in the least to stand in the way of other servants of Christ who will unite with them to this end. As soon as we know the mind of any on this point, we will appoint a general assembly to compare views in regard to a Christian ecclesiastical organization."¹

¹ Beding. Samml. Vol. II. pp. 812, 813.

In order to effect the organization of the German Reformed congregations in this country on the basis of the Bern Articles, and as a Reformed Tropos in the general Unity, an effort was made to procure ministers of this peculiar type from Europe. In 1742, Neisser, in his Tract against Rev. Mr. Boehm, speaks of "ministers who have been regularly ordained for this country by the Royal Prussian Reformed Provost at Berlin, and bound to the Bern Synod, of which there are already some in this country, and of which still more shall come."¹ He implies that these were not acknowledged by Mr. Boehm and those Reformed ministers who sympathized with him. In speaking of those who "are already in this country," we may refer to Bishops Nitschman and Zinzendorf, who were both ordained by the "Royal Prussian Reformed Provost at Berlin," Jablonsky. In the remark that "still more shall come," he reveals the fact that the design of bringing the whole Reformed church in Pennsylvania into an organization under these articles, was earnestly entertained.

In connection with a notice of the ordination of Mr. Bechtel, it is stated that it was done "by Bishop David Nitschman, after having read his commission from both the Antistes, Jablonsky, of Berlin, and Sitkovius, of Lissa, signed by their own hands, as their Vicar in America." It is also mentioned that he was ordained, not only as pastor of the German Reformed congregation at German-

¹ See Life of Rev. J. P. Boehm.

town, but also "for the time being to be a commissary or overseer for all the rest which, in fundamental points, should be willing to hold to the Bern Synod."¹ Two deacons were also appointed to assist him in his work of superintendency.

This ordination took place in the public assembly of the Fifth Conferential Convention, April 18th, 1742. Meanwhile, Mr. Bechtel had drawn up a Catechism, based on the twelve articles of the Bern Synod. This was read before the assembly, compared with the original articles themselves, and, being approved, was ordered to be printed.² Two weeks later, the catechism was introduced into the congregation at Germantown, and catechization was held from the new "*Catechismo ad modum Bernatum.*" This catechism was soon circulated in the prominent localities where Reformed churches existed, with a view to its introduction. We are informed, on the first page of the little book itself, that it was to be had "in Philadelphia, Germantown, Faulkner Swamp, Oley, Lancaster town, Skippach, Soconny, and Forks of Delaware."

Wherever this catechism, with the Bern basis, was received, and so far as it was received, the proposed union of the Spirit found favor. Zinzendorf reported that he was freely admitted to preach in the Lutheran churches, "and also, with great welcome, in all the Reformed churches which re-

¹ See extract by Rev. Levin T. Reichel, in Schaf's *Kirchenfreund*, 1849, p. 101.

² See *Beding. Samml.*, Vol. II. p. 793.

ceived the fundamental doctrines of the Bern Synod.”¹

This “congregation of God in the spirit,” however, did not succeed. It carried elements in it—perhaps more in practice than in doctrine—which were foreign to the true reformed cultus.² This was soon felt by the Reformed members, and awakened just suspicion, which was soon ripened into protest and opposition. Mr. Bechtel’s association with Zinzendorf, and his zeal for the new measures involved in the whole movement was regarded as a subtle scheme to unmoor them from the ancient Reformed faith, and draw them gradually into the communion of the Brethren.

The rest is soon told. On the 9th of February, 1744, Mr. Bechtel was dismissed by his congregation. This issue, it seems, opened his own eyes to his true position; and, however truly he may previously have believed himself to stand on proper Reformed ground, he now saw that, secretly to himself, he had all along really been in full harmony with the Brethren. This he betrays in saying: “When I heard the decision, it was a true comfort to me; and from that time on I felt assured in my heart that I belonged to the Brethren church.”

¹ See Beding. Samml. Vol. II. p. 764.

² See this brought out more fully in the Life of Rev. Jacob Lischy.

REV. HENRY ANTES.

“Der fromme Reformirte Mann aus Friederick Township.”

1736 — 1755.

THE name of HENRY ANTES is very familiar to all who have pried, to any extent, into the less public annals of the first half of the last century. He was especially prominent in the religious movements of the day, and was widely and most favorably known among all religious denominations.

Those who have seen his name most frequently referred to as “the pious and active German Reformed Layman of Frederick Township,” may be surprised to see the title of the holy office attached to his name in our caption, and be ready to ask somewhat doubtingly, “Was Henry Antes also among the Prophets?” It is even so; and though this fact is less known, yet it is no less true, as in our history will appear, at the proper place.

The early life of Mr. Antes, as well as the time of his arrival in this country, seems to be irrecoverably buried in the oblivious past. We know little of him previous to 1736, except that he is frequently and familiarly referred to as the pious Reformed layman and farmer of Frederick Townshp, then Philadelphia, but since 1784, Montgomery county. As his name does not appear on the lists of emi-

grants which began to be entered on the Colonial Records in 1727, he no doubt emigrated previous to that time. That extensive and beautiful region of country lying back of Pottstown, including the townships of Hanover and Frederick, formerly called Falkner Swamp, is a very old German settlement. Soon after the arrival, in 1682, of "about twenty families from high and low Germany, of religious, good people, who settled about Germantown," they were followed by others who "began to spread themselves farther back." We are also informed that "many came over from the Palatinate, and other parts of Germany, early in the eighteenth century, between 1700 and 1720, or '30."¹ Rev. George Michael Weiss, also, with a number of Reformed families, settled there, and built a log Church in the autumn of 1727.

Being a man of deep and earnest piety, Mr. Antes felt a lively concern in the religious interests of the early German emigrants; and having been endowed with good talents, which he diligently cultivated by reading and study, his intelligence and excellency of moral character gave him extensive influence among his German brethren in his day. Even as a layman, his sound Christian sense, his warm-hearted zeal and catholic spirit, caused him to be known in other settlements than that in which he resided, and his influence was gratefully acknowledged among the German population throughout the Province, as well among the brethren of his

¹ Day's Hist. Coll. of Penn., p. 482, 486.

own faith, as among well-disposed Christians of other denominations.

The shepherdless condition of the Germans in the infant German settlements especially touched his heart, and called forth his warm Christian sympathies in their behalf. Though as yet neither licensed nor ordained in a regular ecclesiastical way, he felt himself constrained to make his talents useful among his brethren, by calling them together for singing and prayer, at the same time seeking to edify them by exhortations and lectures based on portions of the holy scriptures. We find that, as early as 1736, he ministered in this way at stated times to the German Reformed people in Oly.

The peace-loving spirit of Mr. Antes was peculiarly distressed by the numerous sects and divisions into which the religious community was separated at that early day. He mourned over the injury which was done to the cause of Christ by the religious contention and confusion which reigned around him. He silently longed and prayed that a better spirit might be breathed into the hearts of professing Christians, which should induce them to labor for the unity of the Spirit in the bonds of peace. When, in 1736, a certain John Adam Gruber, formerly of the sect of the so-called 'Inspired,' sent out a call to "the awakened souls scattered here and there in Pennsylvania, to a new organization of union and communion in prayer," Mr. Antes heard this voice in the wilderness with joy, and seconded the project with all his heart. As early as 1739, the hope had grown up in many

earnest hearts that "the pious" in the different sects might be "called out" and formed into one communion or "congregation of God in the spirit." Mr. Antes soon became one of the most prominent and devoted spirits in this movement, and gave himself without reserve to the labor of its realization.

Of this peculiar religious phenomenon we have elsewhere given a full account.¹ We will only here present to the reader a translation of the call, sent out in German by Mr. Antes in 1741, as it is not only an interesting historical relic, but also exhibits the spirit of the man. A copy of it may be found in the original German in the *Beding. Sammlungen*, vol. ii. pp. 722, 723:

"IN THE NAME OF JESUS! AMEN!

"MY DEAR FRIEND AND BROTHER:

"Since a fearful injury is done in the church of Christ among those souls who are called to the Lamb, and this mostly through the mistrust and suspicion, and that often without foundation, which one entertains toward another, by which every attempt to do good is frustrated—and since, contrary to this, we are commanded to love one another—the question has been discussed in the minds of some persons for two or more years, whether it would not be possible to bring about a general assembly, not for the purpose of disputing with one another, but to confer in love on the im-

¹ See lives of Lischy & Bechtel,

portant articles of faith, in order to see how near all could come together in fundamental points, and in other matters that do not overthrow the ground of salvation, to bear with one another in charity, that thus all judging and condemning among the above mentioned souls might be abated and prevented: since by such uncharitableness we expose ourselves before the world, and give it occasion to say: *Those who preach peace and conversion themselves stand against one another.* These facts have induced many brethren and God-fearing souls to take this important matter into earnest consideration, and to view it in the presence of the Lord; and they have concluded to assemble on the coming New Year's day in Germantown. Accordingly, you also are heartily entreated, with several others of your brethren who rest on good ground, and can give a reason for their faith, to assemble with us if the Lord permit you so to do. Nearly all others have been informed of this by the same kind of letter as is here sent to you. It is believed that it will be a large assembly; but let not this keep you back; everything will be done without much rumor. The Lord Jesus grant His blessing to it.

“From your poor and humble but sincere friend and brother,

“HENRY ANTES.

“FREDERICK TOWNSHIP, in Philada. Co.,

“December 15, 1741.”

The meeting contemplated in this call, was held in Germantown, and was largely attended. It was

opened by Mr. Antes, who also acted as presiding officer during the first Synod. It was followed by six Synods more of a similar character previous to June of the same year. These Synods resulted at length in the organization of "the congregation of God in the spirit." As we have elsewhere given an account of these Synods, and the results growing out of them, we need not here repeat. The new communion proposed not to interfere with the confessional position of its members, but according to the Zinzendorbian theory of Tropes,¹ it was willing that the Reformed should remain Reformed, the Lutherans should remain Lutherans, and so of the rest, having their separate consistories or ecclesiastical assemblies, with their pastors and congregations, only in subordination to this more catholic body, founded on certain essentials, and these consisting more in spirit than in doctrine. Mr. Antes stood in the Reformed Tropos of this unity, and as such received authority and license to go forth and proclaim the Gospel to such Reformed congregations and people as were willing to come under the nurturing care of this Unity.

At the meeting of the seventh of the Union Synods, "H. Antes was commissioned to prepare, in the name of the Synod, a circular to the whole country, in which all the children of God should be invited to join the congregation of God in the

¹ Suggested, it seems, by Philippians i. 18: *πλὴν παντὶ τροπῶ*, et. cet. "Every way, whether in pretence or in truth, Christ is preached; and I therein rejoice, yea, and will rejoice."

spirit. This is an indication of the prominent and influential place which he occupied in this union movement.

Zinzendorf, Spangenberg, and Nitschman, all held Mr. Antes in the highest estimation, and frequently refer to him in terms of highest praise. January 12th, 1743, in the evening, just before his departure to Europe, Zinzendorf delivered a farewell sermon on Mark 14: 8, in Philadelphia, where many of his fellow-laborers in the union scheme were present. This sermon is printed, and also the concluding prayer. In this remarkable prayer occurs this petition: "Thou faithful Heart! Bless, I beseech Thee, for the sake of thine own cause, all those souls who have in any way advanced Thy whole word. And since they are many who have done this to Thy glory, whom we can lay upon Thy heart as those who have faithfully espoused Thy cause, but whom we cannot all name: we commit to Thy wounds till thine own day, by name, our Brother Henry Antes, the household of Stephen Benezet, the Lutheran elders in Philadelphia, and our Brother Bechtel in Germantown." Spangenberg mentions him as "a venerated and excellent man."

It does not appear that Mr. Antes devoted his time exclusively to preaching; rather, he remained the "pious Reformed man of Frederick township," and no doubt sustained himself from the proceeds of his farm; but he made occasional visits here and there, and was especially diligent in exercising his extensive influence in a private way upon his large circle of prominent acquaintances among the Ger-

mans in favor of the new movement. He was in a position to do much in this way, "being a man well acquainted with all the circumstances of the country, being widely and favorably known, and enjoying the confidence and love of many souls."¹ We find him active in this way till 1748.

At this time, the union movement had exhausted itself. Though well meant, it had not the elements of permanency. The stream of history will move in the old channels, except when there is a freshet, and the floods will soon dry away. The Reformed and Lutheran synodical organizations, the former effected in 1747, the latter in 1748, drew their respective material into their own bosoms. The Moravians also organized, drawing into it such material as inclined that way; and such religionists as had fallen in with it from the Separatists, and small sects, were either merged into the several regular denominations, or returned to the world, or into separatistic isolations. Antes, like Bechtel, went with the Moravians; and, from 1748 to 1750, took up his residence at Bethlehem, where he was made *consenior civillis*, October 27, 1748—an office which, at that time, pertained to the legal care of the community's property and outward temporal affairs. The office is now extinct. His faithfulness in this calling is praised.

In April, 1750, the Moravians at Bethlehem introduced the wearing of the white robe, or surplice, by the minister, at the celebration of the Eucharist. He says, complainingly: "Sie haben

¹ Spangenberg's Life of Zinzendorf. Part 5, p. 1400.

die Mess-Kutten angezogen und das Abendmahl gehalten." The tender conscience of Mr. Antes was wounded by what appeared to him a Romanizing tendency. The result was, that he withdrew from them, and returned to his farm in Frederick township, where he ended his days, in pious retirement.

Notwithstanding the occurrence at Bethlehem, which separated him from the brethren there, he still retained a warm love towards the Moravians.

When, in 1752, Bishop Spangenberg was appointed to select a tract of land, in the wilds of North Carolina, for a Moravian settlement, Henry Antes, with four others, accompanied him, to assist him in this responsible work.¹ They left Bethlehem, August 25, 1752, and made the great journey, amid many hardships, through uninhabited regions, all on horseback. This shows his continued goodwill towards the Moravian brethren, and his willingness to labor in the advancement of the kingdom of Christ, under their supervision, and by their zeal.

He lived yet several years, after his return. In the church-book at Bethlehem, there is this record :

"July 20th, 1755, Sabbath. Henry Antes, our dear brother in Fredericktown, who, as long as he was here, served the unity and economy in Bethlehem faithfully, early this morning, at one o'clock, departed peacefully to the Saviour. Before his end

¹ The Moravians in North Carolina, by Rev. Levin T. Reichel, p. 22.

came, he requested that the Brethren might bury him. This was accordingly done, on Monday, 21st, after a consolatory address from Brother Spangenberg. Brother Abraham Reinike read the burial litany. Ten of our Bethlehem Brethren bore the corpse to the grave, in the burial-place on his own land, in Fredericktown, where yet other bodies of our Brethren repose."

On the 14th of June, 1854, the season of bloom and beauty, we visited the burial-place of Antes. We found it on part of the farm once owned by Mr. Antes, but it is now the property of Mr. Reif, some distance from the house. The spot which once was a grave-yard, but can now scarcely be recognized as such, is on the west side of a large field. The fence which once enclosed it is long since gone. The field was, at the time, covered with waving rye. The ploughing of the field has, from time to time, encroached upon the sacred precincts, so that the corners have been rounded off; and it now lies, like a small half-moon, along the fence. The soap-stone grave-stones are all broken: some pieces are still projecting above ground, but nearly levelled with the earth, while fragments are lying around, with letters and parts of names upon them. The largest number of letters we could find together, on any fragment, was four—"Schu".

The fact is very apparent, to a visitor, that, from negligence, if not from design, the sacred spot is in a course of desecration that looks towards turn-

ing it into common ground. The slivers of tomb-stones, as they still stand in their original places, or lie in ruins around, betray that other wasters than time have wrought there. For want of fence, it is already in the open field; and soon the aggressive plough, which now lightly, as if half in distrust, scoops over part of it, will grow bold to move in its full depth, and the reaper will bind his sheaves over the grave of Antes!

Of course, we sought in vain for the grave of the "pious German Reformed man of Frederick township." Few graves are distinguishable as graves, much less as the graves of particular persons. We had to be satisfied to know that somewhere amid that silent congregation reposes the "little precious dust," which

"Our Father's care shall keep,
Till the last angel rise and break,
The long and dreary sleep."

A most lonely and neglected spot is this ancient burial-place; but, on that very account, it is more sadly and solemnly interesting. The fence corners are filled with thorns, under which we found pieces of tomb-stones. A solitary barberry tree throws a feeble shadow upon the spot. The ground is covered with the many-leaved yarrow, the wild parsnip, the Canadian thistle, St. John's wort, cinquefoil, spots of white clover, the solidago, or golden rod, with here and there a lonely mullin, a bunch of wild cotton, and low bushes of the wild plumb. It was a bright and beautiful day when

we stood on the spot. Around lay a most lovely country, in all the hope and glory of June. The ear was greeted from all sides with the sounds of summer—the hum of bees, the song of birds, and the voices of ploughmen, far and near. At a distance of about six miles south lie the Madetche mountains, and, still nearer, winds the Schippach through a beautiful valley. How frequently, however, while we lingered in this lonely grave-yard, was our mind and heart called from the Eden-like scenes which lay around to the lowly resting-place of the dead near us! Such is our poor, transient earthly life! How sad, did we not know of a more enduring inheritance, where the dead in Christ shall live forever, and where all the beautiful is permanent!

About two hundred yards east of the grave-yard, near the “little north-east branch” of the Perkio-men, on what is now the farm of Jesse Andrews, is the spot on which stood the log-church erected by Rev. George Michael Weiss, and those who emigrated with him, in 1727. The site of the old church is at the edge of a woods, not far from the house, where is still to be seen something of a glebe, such as betrays a venerable place. The old church stood, it is said, till about 1760, when it was taken down, and never rebuilt, the congregation having removed their place of worship to what is now called Wentz’s church. The logs of the old church were used in the erection of what is now Allabach’s mill, on the Schippach, near Mr. Reif’s house, where they still form the walls of

that old log building. There the farmer-boy, when he rides on his wheat-bag to the mill, may still see the venerable, widely-hewn timbers which, one hundred and thirty years ago, formed the holy place in which his great-great-great-grand-parents heard God's Word, offered their prayers and songs of praise, and received the emblems of our Saviour's broken body and shed blood.

REV. JACOB LISCHY.

IN that singularly chaotic period of the German religious life in America, in which date the regular organization and early struggles of the Reformed, Lutheran, and Moravian communions, there is no man whose life is more interesting than that of Rev. Jacob Lischy. This "Schweitzer Prediger" has been a standing anomaly and puzzle to all who have glanced, now and then, here and there, into the annals of the olden time. He neither began nor ended his course in the German Reformed Church. His appearance in it was like that of a comet, in more than one respect — brilliant, but irregular and wild, moving carelessly around some hidden centre; and singularly like a comet, too, in being followed by a trail of consequences occupying a larger space than he did himself. Though the German Reformed Church is in no way responsible either for his good or his evil, yet he occupies a large and important place in her early history. We have attempted, in this sketch, to bring some order out of what has seemed hopeless confusion; and trust we have found the thread, crooked and knotty as it may be, which gives some kind of unity to his singularly erratic and eventful life. We ask the reader patiently to follow us, whilst

"We trace the tale
To the dim spot where records fail."

In the month of March, 1748, Rev. Jacob Lischy paid a visit to Dr. Muhlenberg, on which occasion he gave an account of himself, thus: "After he had been awakened,¹ from his fourteenth year on, he had become acquainted, in his fatherland, with some awakened souls, and, at length, also with some Moravians; and, by their sweet teaching concerning reconciliation, and the lovely harmony which seemed to reign among them, he was led to think that they must be the best people in the world. He had visited their most prominent places in Germany, such as Herrnhut, Marienborn, and had also, in company with them, come to Pennsylvania. The Moravian communion had empowered him as a Reformed preacher,² and used him in their plans; but still he had never been regarded as a full brother. When he had, for several years, preached among the Reformed, in various places, and been the instrument, by preaching and personal intercourse, of awakening some souls, he also attended the Brethren conferences. Some of his hearers insisted that he should honestly say whether he was a brother of the Moravians. These also several times de-

¹ Under the preaching of the Brethren in Mühlhausen and Basel. Reichel, in Schaff's *Kirchenfreund*, 1849, p. 102.

² He was not a minister when he came to this country. After he was brought under the influence of Zinzendorf, he was, at his suggestion and request, ordained by David Nitschman and Anthony Seifert.—*Ibid*, p. 101.

manded of him to say, whether he was willing to labor in all their plans. In this way he had, for some time, hung between both; till, at length, three written questions, which he should answer, were sent him from Bethlehem—as, whether he wished in future to be regarded, 1st, a natural brother of the Moravian communion; or, 2nd, a friend; or, 3d, an enemy. This induced him to set a time in which to pay a visit to Bethlehem, in order that he might, once for all, properly examine their affairs in their connection, and in an impartial spirit, and come to a decision. After he had been there several weeks, had prayed to God secretly that He might enlighten him, impartially considered their affairs, but also heard from Bishop Cammerhof very blasphemous expressions in public sermons, and in private conversations experienced nothing but offensive things—he took leave, and renounced his previous connection with them. The most prominent among them, especially Spangenberg, had made the utmost efforts to retain him; but he could do nothing else than cherish towards them a general tender love; and that he, first of all, felt himself induced to publish a declaration, expressed in mild terms, and to show why he had felt constrained to withdraw from their communion. Should they, on the contrary, as they are wont, reply with abuse and falsehood, he had yet much in store with which he could expose their nakedness and shame. I reminded him, in love, how greatly he had sinned, by secretly standing in communion with these people; and yet

several times, in his sermons, had protested to his poor Reformed hearers that he was no Moravian brother. He did not deny that he had committed much sin, and been the cause of much injury; but said he would pray to God for grace and pardon, and beg that He would create in him a clean heart, and renew a right spirit within him. He said, farther, that he now stood alone; and it was natural to suppose that the Brethren would invent and publish all kinds of reasons and motives which induced him to leave them: he asked, therefore, that we would embrace him in our prayers, that God would manifest in him the abundance of His grace and mercy, protect him against a fall, and bestow upon him power in the conflict with Satan and his wiles. For should he now commit the least error, the Brethren would trumpet it before all the world, and say: Here, now, you see the reason why Jacob Lischy could not remain with us! After this he had his declaration printed, and united himself with the Reformed ministers sent in by the classis of Holland. He lives near the Pennsylvania line, on the other side of the Susquehanna, where he has bought a piece of land, and serves several congregations.”¹

Such is Lischy’s own account of himself, and of his connection with the Brethren, which became to him a source of much perplexity and trouble, for many years. This report must not, however, be read without keeping in mind a full view of the position of Lischy at the time he

¹ Hal. Nach., pp. 262-64.

made it, as well as that of Dr. Muhlenberg and the Brethren. This done, it will be found that our impression of the apparent craftiness on the one side, and the seemingly harsh judgment on the other, will be greatly modified.

It must be evident to any one who, with an impartial spirit, goes over the historical ground of that period, that Zinzendorf, in his mission to America, and in his early labors, from his arrival in 1741 onward, was moved largely, if not entirely, by a truly sincere, disinterested, and catholic spirit. This is especially true of the first part of his work. He was deeply penetrated with the sentiment, that all who are truly pious are one in Christ Jesus, and that they ought to be one also in zeal and co-operation for the general good of the kingdom of grace. Especially was he deeply persuaded that this should be the case amid the scattered and spiritually destitute Germans of this New World. His favorite idea, and that towards the realization of which he directed his earnest and undivided labors, while in this country, was the formation of "a congregation of God in the Spirit."¹ On this ground he desired to raise the standard of grace and peace, crying, into the wilderness of barrenness and dark confusion: "Hither, all who belong unto the Lord!"

In this scheme, so beautiful in theory, but so difficult to realize, as time proved, a number of Reformed, Lutherans, and pious members of some of the smaller German communions, were already,

¹ "Eine Gemeinde Gottes im Geist."

in heart, enlisted. Henry Antes, an intelligent and pious layman of the Reformed Church in Frederick township, had before imbibed this spirit, and devoted much zeal and influence in its favor. Rev. Johannes Bechtel, as early as 1726 a German Reformed minister in Germantown, being of like spirit, also gave his heart, mind, and influence, to a scheme which looked towards such a result.

Thus, there had been a movement in this direction independent of Zinzendorf, and previous to his arrival, which prepared the way, and, if it did not suggest the idea to him, at least strengthened him in it, and encouraged him to hope and labor for its realization.¹ As early as 1736, a certain John Adam Gruber, formerly of the sect of the so-called Inspired, had sent out a call to "the awakened souls scattered here and there in Pennsylvania, to a new organization of union and communion in prayer."² This call directed the thoughts of many towards this subject; and, as early as 1739, the feeling thus awakened had already manifested itself in special efforts towards its realization.³ On the 15th of December, 1741, Henry

¹ "It ought to be borne in mind, that Count Zinzendorf was neither the author nor adviser of these meetings at Germantown, but, as he expressed it, 'Pennsylvanians who had become tired of their own ways.'"—Rev. Reichel, in *Moravian Miscellany*, vol. i. p. 266.

² Rev. Reichel, in *Schaff's Kirchenfreund*, 1849, pp. 103–4.

³ See Heinrich Antes *Circular-Schreiben*, dated Dec. 15, 1741: "So ist man schon wohl zwei Jahr oder mehr damit umgegangen, ob's nicht möglich wäre eine Allgemeine Versammlung anzustellen." *Büd. Samml.*, vol. ii. pp. 722–23.

Antes sent out a circular, calling the first meeting at Germantown, which, accordingly, met Jan. 1, 1742. Six more synods of this character were held, previous to June, of the same year, in different parts of Eastern Pennsylvania. At the third synod, "the congregation of God in the Spirit" was founded.

Zinzendorf identified himself with this movement, and became, in a degree, the soul of it. In time, difficulties arose in the practical workings of this union. Some of the smaller sects, such as Swenkfelders, Dunkers, and Mennonites, gradually withdrew their sympathy. Meanwhile, in 1742, Dr. Muhlenberg arrived in the country, commissioned to organize and bring under the original Lutheran ecclesiastical order, the scattered Lutheran churches in the land. His work brought him in conflict with this union movement, the basis of which his commission did not allow him to approve. Thus, some Lutherans withdrew, while others remained with the union. In like manner, in 1746, Rev. Michael Schlatter arrived, commissioned to consolidate the scattered Reformed congregations, upon the basis of their original order, doctrines, and worship. This was, again, a draught upon the union movement, from another side. Those that remained with the union of the Lutheran, Reformed, and others, were gradually regarded as being under the influence of Moravianism; and Zinzendorf, and those who, with him, labored to sustain the union, were charged with harboring the secret motive of draw-

ing Lutheran and Reformed ministers and churches over to Moravianism. This suspicion increased, as the union became, year after year, by the force of circumstances, more prominently, prevailingly, and decidedly Moravian.

At the time when this union movement commenced, there was as yet no Moravian congregation in Pennsylvania; at the time of its seventh meeting, in June, 1742, Zinzendorf founded one at Bethlehem. A colony of "Moravian Pilgrims," that had arrived at Philadelphia on the 7th of June, a few days before the Synod, made application to be received into the spiritual connection of the "congregation of God in the Spirit" — and a vote having been taken, all were permitted to enter.¹ Thus, at length, was that movement which was designed, honestly, we believe, to take a wider range, narrowed down into the nucleus of the Brethren church in this country. Henceforth Bethlehem, and the union Synods which were still continued, became centres from which preachers and teachers went forth all over Pennsylvania, to gather souls into the "congregation of God in the Spirit." In this work, Lischy was enlisted.

This explains his position—showing, on the one hand, how and why, while he stood in this Union, he was suspected and accused of being secretly a Moravian, when he preached among the Reformed: and also, on the other hand, how and why he himself, as of Reformed origin and sympathies, with-

¹ Rev. Mr. Reichel, in *Moravian Miscellany*, vol. i. p. 271.

drew from the Union, when in the lapse of a few years, and by force of circumstances, it became distinctively Moravian. Thus the zeal which was manifested on the one side was not a spirit of proselytism in favor of the Brethren, but only a zeal to keep up the Union; and those Reformed ministers who held their Reformed predilections subordinate to this Union while it yet stood on its original ground, are not to be regarded as guilty of duplicity, and joining in a secret conspiracy to rob the Reformed Church of ministers, churches, and members, but must be regarded as honestly laboring to sustain the interest, in whose bosom they stood. It is also easy to see how this anomalous state of things would naturally give rise to misunderstandings and harsh judgments — accounting fully for the severe language of Lischy in withdrawing from the body, which, under his eye, and during his ardent interest in it, had, as we have said, by the force of circumstances, gradually changed its entire character.

Having found this hasty statement, as underlying the whole position of Lischy, necessary to a proper understanding of his seemingly versatile and inconsistent course, we now proceed with the narrative of his life.

Lischy having at first been brought in this way into connection with the “congregation of God in the Spirit,” as a layman, was by them ordained in January, 1743, as a minister, and sent out from Bethlehem to preach in various parts of Pennsylvania, especially among the Reformed, under the

direction of Zinzendorf, and very frequently in company with him.

In December, 1742, Count Zinzendorf, in passing, spent a short time in Lancaster county. He preached in private houses in Warwick township, where Litiz now is, and also in the court house in Lancaster. The people were much interested and moved by his preaching, and desired that he should send them a minister who would preach to them in the same spirit. He sent them the Rev. Jacob Lischy, who preached for some time in this region, and especially at Mode Creek and at Kissel's farm. "As Lischy had been brought up in the Reformed Church, before he came over to the Brethren communion, his sermons were received with special favor by the Reformed members in the neighborhood, and many came to hear him. The consequence was that a great awakening began among them."¹ This seems to have been his first field of operation after his ordination.

Being a close, warm-hearted, "gifted and approved preacher," he made an impression wherever he went; and received call after call to settle, and become the pastor of Reformed congregations, to which, however, at this time he did not yield, preferring, as it would seem, a kind of evangelist life. Among others, he received a call, dated April 10, 1743, to Coventry township, Chester county, where he preached with effect.²

¹ Biene, Vol. II., No. 14.

² A copy of this call may be seen in the Beding. Samml., Vol. III., pp. 109, 110. It is signed Philip Breitenstein, Jo-

In the same year, we hear of him in the counties of Berks and what is now Lebanon, then a part of Lancaster.¹ "In 1743, the Rev. Jacob Lischy, whom Count Zinzendorf has sent out from Bethlehem, came into this region"—Hebron, near Lebanon,—“and preached, as opportunity was afforded, in churches and private houses, and took care of the awakened souls in Berks and Lancaster counties.”²

The general Synod of the “congregation of God in the Spirit,” was so constituted as to allow of different types, or modes—*Tropos*, as Zinzendorf designated it—of Christianity in its bosom, but under its general supervision. Thus, for instance,

hannes Schoder, Johannes Frey, Nicholas Körper, Christian Strohm, Velten Scheidecker, Conrad Reffion, Michael Ysony, Simeon Schneck, Jacob Karl, Johannes Neydick, Caspar Büchner, Conrad Walther, Heinrich Möller, Gerhart Brambach, Heinrich Böhner, Johannes Carl, Johannes Hubel, Conrad Seibert, Friedrich Funck, Jacob Freymann, Johannes Paul, Henry Freys, Melchior Koch, Samuel Esch, Johannes Clauer, Albertus Ehrenwein, Friedrich Möller, Adam Schött, Wilhelm Adam, Adam Stein, Heinrich Böhr, Lorentz Puffenbach.

Coventry Township, den 10 April, 1743.

Of this place he says: “Es liegt 36 Mile ob Phild. an der Sculkil, wo noch kein Bruder gewesen ist.”

So hab ich noch etliche Vocationen mit eben so viel und noch mehr Namen, die mich gebeten, dieselbe anzunehmen.

¹ He received calls similar to that to Coventry, from the Reformed congregations of Heidelberg, Bern, Mühlbach, Mode creek, Berwick and other places.—Rev. L. T. Reichel in Schaff's Kirchenfreund, 1849, p. 101.

² “Die Biene,” getruckt in Bethlehem, July 1, 1848—Band. III., No. 14.

the Reformed and Lutheran Churches were to stand in connection with the Unity, mediately under a special conference or consistorium.¹ This left to the Reformed section considerable freedom and right — a circumstance which did much to allay the suspicions of Reformed members and churches in regard to the new movement, and caused a goodly number to fall in with it. Rev. Mr. Boehm, who, from the beginning, stood immediately under the direction and in the spirit of the Church of Holland, at whose hands he had received his ordination, very zealously opposed the movement, on the ground especially of what he regarded as dangerous tenets put forth in reference to the doctrine of Free Grace. Lischy being the soul and leader of the movement among the Reformed, Mr. Boehm contended against him and his teachings in the pulpit, in the public papers, and in a very caustic pamphlet. Lischy felt that this influence was operating strongly against him, and he was led, accordingly, to take measures to defend himself and his teachings. Operating about this time in Lancaster and Berks counties, he called a council, to meet at Hei-

¹ "Ueber den Reformirten Plan soll eine aparte Conference gehalten und ein Kirchen Collegium formirt werden zur Direction dieser Sache, in genauer Connexion mit der Synode." 15te Penn. Synode, §30, quoted by Reichel. 17te Penn. Synode, §10. "Die Reformirten Prediger, Aeltesten und Vorsteher haben Erlaubniss, dem luther. Consistorio beizuwohnen, doch ohne voto, und vice versa." Ein Protokol des Reformirten Collegii vom 12ten Aug. 1746, in Philadelphia gehalten, ist noch vorhanden. Rev. L. T. Reichel in Schaff's Kirchenfreund, 1849, p. 103.

delberg, August 29th, 1743. Fifty Elders and Deacons, besides a large number of church-members from twelve congregations, met on the appointed day. At this meeting, many complaints were lodged against him: "He is a Zinzendorfer, and has promised the Count to take the care of the Reformed, and bring them to his side: He is not properly ordained," et. cet. Lischy vindicated himself by relating the history of his life hitherto—how he had been awakened through the preaching of the Brethren in Mühlhausen and Basel, and how he had afterwards gone to Marienborn and Herrnhut, and at last come to America—showing also his certificate of ordination. The result was that these congregations renewed their call to him." It seems he had satisfied the Reformed, but it was evidently by a compromise, in which he had to spread himself quite too much two ways. He must have kept back much of his heart and mind from the Reformed council; while, on the other hand, he yielded to them more than was fully agreeable to the Brethren in Bethlehem. On this matter he himself remarks: "My Brethren (in Bethlehem) gladly rejoiced with me over the victory I had gained, and yet my matters were never exactly to their mind, and I often knew not how to suit myself into affairs, yet I ever comforted myself in this, that they always said they would regard the matter

¹ Rev. L. T. Reichel, Schaff's Kirchenfreund, 1849, p. 102. This call was signed by every Elder of Bern, Heidelberg, Calico, Donnegal, Schwatara, Blue Mountain, Maiden Creek, Wintzen (Vincent) at the Schuylkill, and Whiteoakland.

with indulgence, perhaps the Saviour would bring matters into the track again.”¹ How truly has the highest authority said: “No man can serve two masters.” How true, too, that compromises in religion are the natural children of hypocrisy, and bear the lineaments of the parent. What a compliment to God’s wisdom to suppose that His cause needs the two-faced cunning of a compromiser to carry it successfully forward! It is poor ballast that rolls from side to side in the ship.

Next we find Lischy preaching in and around York, Pa. “In the year 1744, the well-known Lischy, who had been sent out by the congregation in Bethlehem, came into the neighborhood of Yorktown to preach the Gospel to all who were willing to hear him. He professed to be a Reformed minister, and was allowed to preach in the Reformed church in Yorktown. His testimony of the death of Jesus, delivered in the name of the congregation, made a favorable impression on many. Hence a great excitement arose among the people. Many who had before been uneasy, came to confer with him on the state of their hearts. In the following year, Brother Nyberg (Lutheran minister of this Union stamp in Lancaster) frequently preached here; the awakening continued to increase, and it seemed as if all in and around Yorktown, as well as on the Kreutz creek, would be converted. Anno 1746, a Brethren Synod was held at Kreutz creek. A few weeks prior thereto, the

¹Rev. L. T. Reichel, Schaff’s Kirchenfreund, 1849, p. 102.

people first became aware that Lischy had been sent by the congregation; and when he wished to preach again in the Reformed church in Yorktown, many persons had collected in front of the church with great noise, who forbade him, as well as Brother Christian Henry Rauch,¹ to preach in their church. Nevertheless, Brother Rauch preached on the same day, in the open air, to a very large audience, and proclaimed to them the word of life with great joyfulness. Public preaching was thenceforward held at Immel's house, on the Codorus."²

This is a graphic picture of the practical workings of this Unity scheme, which had evidently at this time already so far apparently fallen into a Moravian current as to awaken the fears of the Reformed members of York. How far there was, at this time, ground for this suspicion, and to what extent Mr. Lischy labored to explain his position to the people, and how much there was in his present spirit and views under the pressure of his zeal for the new order, that seemed unnatural and suspicious to such as held on to the original Reformed order, it is difficult now to know. We do know, nevertheless, that however deficient in piety some may have been, their opposition to Lischy cannot be regarded as against true piety, but only against that type of it which he represented, and which they felt to be foreign to that which was homoge-

¹ Rauch was also Reformed. See his Life.

² "Brief account of the origin and founding of the Moravian congregation at York," in MS.

neous in the Reformed Church. A considerable portion of the congregation adhered to Mr. Lischy, and gave him a call to become their stated pastor.

In a short memorandum in the Record Book of the York congregation, Mr. Lischy gives a brief account of his coming to that place, and his connection with the German Reformed church there. "In the year of our dear Saviour Jesus Christ, 1744, I came hither on the written invitation of a number of members of the congregation, and preached the word of life to this deserted flock, which had hitherto been without a regular pastor and teacher. And as the preaching of the word was attended with unmerited blessing from above, from "the Father of lights," the congregation made strenuous efforts to obtain my consent to become their regular and appointed Pastor. To this end, they transmitted to me by the Elders, George Mayor and Philip Rothrock, a written call, dated on the 12th day of August, 1744; and after I had declined accepting it, the whole congregation¹ unanimously sent me another, asking me, in the name of the Triune God, to become their pastor, as will appear from the call itself, dated on the 29th of May, 1745. Thereupon, I came hither, in the name of Jesus Christ, and preached my introductory sermon from Ezekiel 2; 1-7, organized the congregation, and served it according to the grace given to me, by preaching the word and administering the sacraments."

¹ "So hat die ganze Gemeinde ihm, im Namen des Dreieinigen Gottes, noch mal zu ihrem Prediger berufen." — *Records York Congregation.*

Only a short time before Mr. Lischy received this second call to York, namely, March 21, 1745, there was a large Church council held at Mode Creek, similar to that held in Heidelberg, in August, 1743, where fifty elders and deacons, from twelve German Reformed congregations, were present. Lischy's true Church relations were again the subject of inquiry. He was called upon to say whether he was a Moravian or not. At first he endeavored to evade the investigation,¹ but, when closely pressed by Rauch, Bechtel, and Antes, who were Reformed, but stood at the time in the Brethren Unity, he was constrained to acknowledge that he stood in union with the Brethren. At the same meeting, a hymn of sixteen verses, composed by him, was publicly read before the council. This hymn breathes so peculiarly the spirit of the unity of the Brethren, at that time, and is so full of loyalty to that movement, that one is led to suppose it to have been written under the fresh impulse of zeal consequent upon the position which he had now newly assumed, under the pressure of circumstances. A copy of this singular poetic production has been kindly furnished us by Rev. Levin T. Reichel, of Salem, N. C., from a work in course of preparation by him, entitled: "The Early History of the Church of the United Brethren, commonly called Moravians, in North America, from 1740 to 1775."

¹ "Anfänglich trug er (wie H. Antes sich ausdrückt) die Kirche um's Dorf."—Reichel in *Kirchenfreund*, 1748, p. 102.

The reader will be pleased to read it entire. It would lose by a translation, and hence we give it in his own German.

JACOB LISCHY'S LIED FUER DEN KIRCHENRATH IN
MODECREEK, DEN 21. MERZ 1745.

“1. Was soll der Knecht Gottes Zwinglius
Und der ehrwürdige Calvinus
Doch wohl zu uns sagen—wenn sie herkämen,
Und ihres Volks Sache so recht vernähmen?
Wer weiss es wohl?

“2. Ich dächte, sie weinten vor Herzeleid
Ueber die heutige Christenheit,
Die gewisslich so sehr verworren,
Dass es in Sodoma und Gomorrah—
Kaum ärger war.

“3. Man nennt sich, dem Namen nach, reformirt.
Das heisst, verbessert, zurechtgeführt,
Und die armen Seelen sind im Gewirre.
Es läuft fast alles noch in der irre.
Kyrie eleis.

“4. Wo ist unser erster und alter Grund,
Der durch der Apostel glückseligen Mund
Ausgesprochen worden und aufgeschrieben?
Wo ist die uralte Lehre blieben—
Von Jesu Blut?

“5. Es stehet im Berner Synodum,
Dass Christus Jesus der Punct und Summ'
Aller Gottes Lehre, zu allen Zeiten,
Dass Jesu Martyr und blutiges Leiden—
Der Text soll sein.

- “6. Hört man denn itzund so viel davon?
Ist diess der sel’ge und sanfte Ton?
Klingt es den Ohren und Herzen süsse;
Dass unser Gott Jesus an Händ und Füssen —
Die Mahle hat?
- “7. Macht man viel Wesen zu dieser Zeit
Von Jesu durchstochnen blutigen Leib’,
 an den heiligen Wunden, so herzlich schöne?
Ist das der Prediger ihr Getöne?
Nein, nein, ach nein!
- “8. Est geht gewisslich, wie Cicero schreibt,
Dass Symonide die Sache treibt;
So wird’s heutzutage pünktlich getrieben,
Man ist bei dem heidnischen Maxime blieben —
Und weiss sonst nichts.
- “9. Man redet zwar viel von dem grossen Gott,
Und bleibet im Herzen steinkalt und todt,
Denn kein Mensch kann nichts von Gott verstehen,
Bis man lernt’s in Jesu Wundun sehen —
Gott war im Fleisch.
- “10. Man prediget nichts als Sittenlehr’
Und von dem Herrn Jesu so ungefähr
Zu Passionszeiten — in den Charwochen
Thut man sowas über die Juden pochen —
Wie schlimm sie war’n.
- “11. Wir aber, die wir von Gott erwählt
Und aus Gnaden zum Volk gezählt,
Des Jesu Marter hält hoch in Ehren,
Wir wollen mit den ehrwürdigen Chören —
Das Lamm erhöh’n.
- “12. Wir predigen mit Jesu Blut Gemein
Kreuz, Tod, Blut, Wunden, Jahraus, Jahrein,
Sagen allen Seelen von diesem Lamme,
Der blutig gehangen am Kreuzesstamme —
Für alle Welt.

- “13. Diess ist die Maxime des Gottes Knecht,
 Daran erkennt wird, ob man auch recht
 Von dem Geiste Gottes ist ordiniret,
 Wenn unser Herz göttlich ist ausgezieret—
 Mit Jesu Blut.
- “14. Da weist man, mit Paulo, keinen andern Gott,
 Als den, der am Kreuze für uns ein Spott,
 Mit der Dornen Krone, der blutigen Seiten,
 Darauf man mit Herz und Mund thut deuten—
 Ganz grätiglich.
- “15. Diess ist die Lehre, die ewig bleibt,
 Wie St. Johannes in Wahrheit schreibt,
 In der Offenbarung im 5ten Capitel,
 Da giebt er dem Lamme den höchsten Titel—
 Im 9ten Vers.
- “16. Wir bleiben also bei dieser Lehr,
 Herr Jesu Christe, komm zu uns her.
 Wir sind deine Leute, die du erworben,
 Da du am Kreuze für uns gestorben.
 Es bleibt dabei.”

Acquitted by his judges, Mr. Lischy again serves the congregation at York, for several years. When Schlatter came to that place, May 2d, 1747, he found “a large German Reformed congregation there.” Lischy, however, was not, at that time, a regular pastor in York. Schlatter says he had previously been their pastor. Schlatter preached for them, and administered the Lord’s Supper, baptized twenty-nine children, and spoke specially with the communicants, “because the Brethren, in connection with Mr. Lischy, had brought much confusion among them.”¹ These difficulties, it

¹ Schlatter’s Journal.

seems, had, some time previous to Schlatter's arrival, effected a separation between Lischy and the congregation at York. Rev. Nyberg, who sustained the same relation to the Lutherans and the Brethren, as Lischy did to the Reformed and Brethren, had preached in York, among the Lutherans. The largest portion of the Lutheran members, however, locked the door of the church on him. As Nyberg was, at the time, operating more particularly in Lancaster, having only gone over to York on a temporary mission, his party were left in the hands of Lischy, who, meanwhile, strengthened and sustained them, in connection with a like-minded party of his own adherents, from the Reformed Church. Thus, he went with the fragment which he carried away.¹

About this time, we find Mr. Lischy again afloat as an evangelist. June 20, 1747, Dr. Muhlenberg mentions Nyberg as preaching in Lancaster, in the interest of the Brethren, and remarks: "With him, a Reformed preacher, Jacob Lischy, preaches alternately even the same doctrines."² At this time, he also missionated about Litiz, and the northern portion of Lancaster county. Having lost his hold, to a great extent, in York, he desired to establish for himself a charge in this region, no doubt including Lancaster. In this he failed; and, seeing

¹ "Jener (Lischy) hatte schon eine zeitlang in diesem District in der Reformirten Gemeinde gearbeitet. Nachdem aber bekannt worden, dass er Herrnhutisch gesinnt sei, haben sich seine Gemeinern daselbst gespalten."—Hal. Nach., 232.

² Hal. Nach., p. 230.

that his present semi-Reformed and semi-Moravian position was likely to work permanently to his disadvantage, he began to look around him for a position in which he would be more likely to succeed. He resolved on a separation from the Brethren, and an union with the Reformed Church.¹

A short time after this, namely, on the 26th of June, 1747, Mr. Schlatter stopped at Bethlehem, while visiting the Reformed congregations in Lehigh and Northampton counties, where he provisionally met Mr. Lischy, for the first time. He seems just to have come from Lancaster county. Wishing, as it seems, to have some communication with Mr. Schlatter, he accompanied him ten miles, to Nazareth. "When we got into conversation, this man very magnanimously manifested a hearty penitence and sorrow, that he had suffered himself, with many other erring souls, to be bewitched by the crafty Brethren, and become entangled in the net of their soul-destroying teachings and customs. This open-hearted acknowledgment gave occasion to an extended and earnest conversation, in which I was fully persuaded of the honesty and sincerity of his intentions, and of his firmly-formed determination completely to separate himself from

¹ "In the summer of 1747, the otherwise gifted and active minister, Lischy, out of ill-humor (Missmuth), on account of having failed in establishing a congregation or charge for himself, out of the Reformed portion of the awakened souls, separated himself from union and communion with the Brethren, and left the neighborhood."—Biene, vol. iii. No. 14.

the Brethren, and gladly return again into the bosom of the true Reformed Church. I agreed to write to the reverend Christian synods in regard to this interesting circumstance, and wait for their counsel and direction, and earnestly advised him meanwhile to consider the matter, in silence and the fear of God, and afterwards to transfer to me, to Philadelphia, his conclusion in writing.”¹

It soon became known to the Brethren composing the Unity, that Lischy was losing his loyalty to that movement. Accordingly, at the meeting of the 23d general Synod, held in Germantown, May, 1747, they passed a resolution demanding of him that he should now decidedly declare himself either as a member of the Brethren Church, and answerable to it, or as a Reformed minister under the Brethren Consistorium, or as an independent Reformed minister. He declared in favor of the last.²

Lischy now took active measures to have himself received as a regular minister of the German Reformed Church, in connection with the Synod organized a little later in the same year, Sept. 29th, 1747, through the instrumentality of the Rev. Mr. Schlatter. He now returned to York, if possible to reinstate himself there, and win the confidence of the people. In August, 1747, Schlatter received the first letter from Lischy, the contents of which he does not mention, but it contained, among other things, an invitation to Mr. Schlatter to come to

¹ Schlatter's Journal, pp. 271-72.

² Rev. Mr. Reichel, in Kirchenfreund, 1849, pp. 102-103.

York, and, if possible, restore harmony and peace in the congregation, and use his influence to effect his restoration into their confidence.

On the 29th of September, the Synod met in Philadelphia, at which Mr. Schlatter, and Rev. Mr. Reiger, of Lancaster, were appointed to proceed to York, "to examine into the strife which had been occasioned between the York congregation and Mr. Lischy, on account of his attachment to the Brethren."

On the 23d of October, they were on the ground. On the 24th, Rev. Mr. Reiger preached a preparatory sermon; and on the 25th, they administered the holy supper. "After the service," says Schlatter, "I asked the whole congregation how they felt inclined toward Mr. Lischy; whether they would receive him as their regular pastor, in case he should be appointed by the Reverend Synod of Holland, and established among them agreeably to the order of the Church? The greatest number of the members said, that, if it were possible, they would prefer another minister; because they mistrusted that he had not yet fully withdrawn from the Brethren Church; still, if they had very clear evidence of his good intentions, and he would make such a public acknowledgment as the Christian Synods should approve, they would then feel inclined to bestow upon him again their former affection.

"Mr. Lischy, who, during this transaction, conducted himself with propriety, manifesting good sense and Christian meekness, promised that he

would put upon paper the true sense of his heart, and hand the same over to Mr. Reiger and myself; and said, that we might be assured that sincere uprightness lay at the main-spring of all he had done. We admonished him to refrain from administering the holy sacraments till further orders were given; still we told him that we would consent that he might, if he desired it, deliver exhortations unto edification, in his own house, to such as should feel inclined to hear him, in order in this way to relieve the people of their concern as to the sincerity of his intentions.”¹ Thus ended this conference for this time.

On the 17th of May, 1748, Mr. Schlatter and Mr. Reiger met again in York, and inquired still further into the case of Lischy, and the state of the congregation. They found to their joy that confidence in him had been measurably restored, and that their affection for him was kindling anew — with only a few exceptions.² On the 18th, Mr. Schlatter asked Mr. Lischy to preach, by way, no doubt, of testing his orthodoxy on the point in-

¹ Schlatter's Journal.

² To this period, in the history of this matter, refers, no doubt, the passage in “A brief account of the origin and founding of the Moravian congregation at York.” It runs thus: “Anno 1748, Lischy, who had been called to Bethlehem, and had now separated himself from the Brethren congregation, returned, and at once sought to get the awakened souls on his side, and make them regard the Brethren congregation with suspicion; in which he in many cases succeeded. Still the Redeemer retained a little flock, which adhered to him and the congregation, turning a deaf ear to Lischy.”

volved, on Matthew 22: 14, "For many are called, but few are chosen," which, without having had much time to prepare, he did with much power. and greatly to the satisfaction of all. This was the first time he had preached publicly in the church since the first disturbances. With the consent of the congregation, Mr. Schlatter and Reiger agreed that he should now continue to preach; but that he should still withhold himself from administering the holy sacraments, until orders in regard to his case should come from Holland.¹ At the next meeting of Synod in October, he was, however, authorized, in the interim, to administer the holy supper, if the congregation desired it at his hands. Under date 29th of October, 1748, Mr. Lischy handed over to Mr. Schlatter the promised written statement of his faith, which Mr. S. then sent to Holland; Mr. Lischy, meanwhile, awaiting at York the final direction in his case. He seemed to have inspired the small Cœtus with confidence in himself. "For my part," says Mr. Boehm, "I have good hope that he will be in future a good co-laborer in our true church. May God, who alone is the searcher of hearts, grant him His blessing."² In November, 1750, Mr. Lischy, at the request of Mr. Schlatter, visited the congregations in Virginia, where Mr. S. had previously been.

After Mr. Lischy separated from the Brethren he turned strongly against them, manifesting his

¹ Schlatter's Journal.

² See minutes of Cœtus, 1748.

opposition zeal both in writing and preaching¹—not the best sign of sincerity in his conversion, nor yet that he would be a promising acquisition to the cause he now espoused. Time will show.

There was about this time much uncertainty and delay in communicating by letter with Europe, and we find that Synod, at a special session in December, 1750, complain of this as a great hindrance to them. As Schlatter makes no mention in his Journal of the final decision of the case of

¹“Hat auch gegen dieselbe schrift und mündlich gezeuget.” Hal. Nach., p. 230. The following is a notice of his principal publication against the Moravians, taken from Saur’s paper, Oct. 16, 1749. It has been kindly transcribed by I. D. Rupp, Esq.: “Es ist kürzlich bym Drucker (Saur’s) hievon gedruckt worden: Eine Predigt über das Evangelium von der falschen Propheten. Matt. 7, v. 15, biss. 23. Darinnen die falsche Propheten zu unser zeit mit den Alten aus Gotess-wort; *Erstlich* nach ihrem Schaafskliede; *Zweitens* nach ihren Früchten; und *Drittens* nach ihren Werken, nach *allgemeiner* Erfahrung beschrieben werden. Mit beygeführten kurzen doch gründlichen Aumerkungen von sogenannten Mährischen Brüdren oder Zinzen-dörffron; Worans man zum Theil ihre abscheuliche Irrthümer erschen, und dann mit grosser Gewissheit schliessen kan, dass sie die falsche Propheten seyn müssen. Gepredigt und geschrieben durch Jacob Lischy V. D. M., Prediger der Reformirten Gemenden über der Susquahanna. Diis Predigten sind zu haben bey dem Drucker heirvon, und in Philadelphia bey dem David Däschler, und in Tulpehocken, bey Mr. Conradt Weisser, Esq. In Lancaster, bey Caspar Schaffner; in York an der Catoris, bey George Schwob, Esq.; in Conawaga, bey Ludwig Schreiber; in Friderichstown in Manakesi, bey Thomas Schley. Es kostet das Stück welches zwischen 6 und 7 Bogen hält. 1 schilling.” We should like to read this sermon. Is it extant anywhere?

Lischy up to that time, it is likely that the same cause effected this delay. He was, however, finally approved, and received.

He has recorded the following in the church-book at York, which shows the progress of his life. "In the year 1750, after having, from various causes and considerations, concluded to accept a call from another charge, which had been placed in my hands, and with that view announced my intention to preach my valedictory sermon; I again received a unanimous request from the congregation to remain with them as their minister, as will appear from the call, dated December 31st, 1750. Whereupon I continued to serve the congregation several years longer." We are told that "prosperity marked the period that followed this."¹

Toward the close of the year 1753, some difficulties again occurred between him and the people, so that at the beginning of the year 1754, Mr. Lischy, being desirous of withdrawing from the congregation, once more resigned, and even went so far as to preach his farewell sermon, taking as his text, the words: "Testifying both to the Jews, and also to the Greeks, repentance toward God, and faith toward our Lord Jesus Christ." Acts 20: 21. The congregation, however, again took active measures to prevent, if possible, his leaving them. "In the hope," as they say, "of thereby inducing him to reconsider the matter, and consent to serve them anew as Pastor," they called a meet-

¹ Rev. J. O. Miller's Centenary Sermon, 1854.

ing, and "without the privity or knowledge of the minister," agreed upon the following unanimous resolution and declaration :¹

"IN THE NAME OF THE TRIUNE GOD.

"We, the undersigned, collectively and publicly assembled in the church, on the 1st day of January, 1754, have agreed to adopt, receive, and acknowledge the following articles, and have resolved that they, in connection with and in addition to, our existing church discipline and regulations, shall at all times hereafter be maintained and observed by the elders and membership of the congregation :

"*First.* It is our mature and deliberate meaning and intention that our church discipline, as prepared by the Rev. Mr. Lischy, and repeatedly read before the congregation, shall at all times be enforced and observed by the elders and members.

"*Secondly.* It is our design that henceforward the names of the members of the Reformed congregation in York, shall be recorded in the church-book, so that they may be treated and dealt with according to the ordinances of Christ. And if any decline or refuse to comply herewith, or by their conduct or behavior violate the discipline and regulations, they shall be excluded from membership, and their names, if recorded, erased from the list.

"*Thirdly.* We deem it necessary and beneficial

¹ Rev. J. O. Miller's Centenary Sermon, 1854.

that, in future, the minister shall annually nominate four persons for Elders and two persons for Deacons; and, of the persons so nominated, the congregation shall select and elect two Elders and one Deacon.

“Fourthly. It is our unanimous conviction and resolution, that we, the undersigned, are bound, according to our several means and ability, to contribute to the support of our Pastor and the maintenance of the Church, so that public divine worship may continue to be held, and be perpetuated among our descendants.

“Fifthly. We hereby renewedly call the Rev. Jacob Lischy to be our Pastor, confirming and renewing also the previous calls given to him in the years 1745 and 1750; promising to conduct ourselves towards him as Christian brethren, hearkening and submitting to his earnest exhortations and admonition.

“IN WITNESS WHEREOF, we have hereunto either personally signed our names, or duly authorized them to be subscribed for us.¹ Done as above, Jan. 1st, 1754.”

¹ It will be a matter of interest to some to be permitted here to read the names affixed to this interesting document. They are: George Mayer, Casper Kieffer, Christian Wampfler, Jacob Ob, Jun., Philip Hintz, John Welsch, Abraham Welschans, Jacob Ob, Sen., Peter Ob, Joseph Welschans, Martin Danner, Peter Wolff, Philip Weber, Tobias Anspacher, Henry Klatfelder, Geo. Christian Sinn, George Hoke, Philip Ganss, Michael Houck, Michael Weider, John Welsch (tailor), Killian Smith, Peter Seiss, Abraham Reüblatt, Dieter Meyer, Benedict Schwob, Ludwig Kraft (schoolmaster), Ulrich Hess, Michael Schlatter,

This writing is signed by eighty-seven male members of the church. It was all done, as they say, "without the privity or knowledge of the minister;" but, when it was presented to him, it had the desired effect. He afterwards refers to this, as determining his mind to continue with them for a time longer. "A remarkable interposition of divine providence, the members having manifested and promised renewed earnestness and zeal, frustrated my design, and I am induced to continue serving the congregation, as its Pastor—whereunto may God confer grace and strength, for Jesus' sake. Amen!" So he wrote in the church-book, April 13, 1754.

It was but a precarious prosperity that followed this action. Some trouble or other always lingered in the background, which would spring in upon

John Dalman, Nicholas Reisinger, John Dentzel, Henry Chartron, Abraham Kieffer, Gerhart Luckenbach, Nicholas Ob, Jacob Reiff, Michael Grebill, John Gerber, Henry Wölder, Killian Dueffinger, Nicholas Schaffer, Henry Bier, Nicholas Wilt, Jacob Correl, Dieter Obach, Philip Hintz, Jr., John Humerichaus, Nicholas Schrum, Jacob Ottinger, Conrad Anna, Zachariah Schuckert, Casper Kieffer, Jr., Henry Stertzenecker, Christopher Weider, John Wahl, Geo. Krimm, John Guckes, Michael Neumouth, John Appelman, Christian Dittenhoffer, Dewalt Emrich, Geo. Schram, Jonas Leib, John Bantzel, Jacob Schaffer, Geo. Michael Kann, George Rudy, Christian Wampfler, Sen., Jacob Hildenbrandt, Conrad Miller, Henry Everhart, Jacob Welsh, John Wolff, Jacob Wagner, Jacob Sharer, Nicholas Kerr, Henry Wolff, Henry Luckenbach, Matthias Gemshom, Adam Schlaby, Jacob Meyer, Charles Krimm, Henry Stittler, Henry Leinbacher, Godfrey Frey, George Weldey: 87.

them at the least occasion. The storm which he had long been raising over his own head, was fast preparing to break in a fierce finale upon him, and, through him, upon the congregation.

With all his ethereal pretensions to extraordinary piety, many inconsistencies showed themselves, from time to time, in his conduct; yet not so as to destroy all confidence in him, or subject him to ecclesiastical discipline. At length, however, the mask fell off, and his sin found him out. In 1756 he made himself guilty of a grievous scandal, and his case was brought before the Cœtus of 1757. "He was requested to appear publicly before the Cœtus, but he did not appear. He was requested to present himself privately before a committee of our Cœtus, but he did not come. He was unwilling to submit to the decision and censure of the Cœtus; and, contrary to your expressed wish, he immediately appealed to the Synod and Classis. We suspended him immediately from his ministry, until he should remove the objections against him; but he conducted himself very improperly, and, with the aid of his abettors, broke open the doors of the church with force, and thus proceeded to do as he thought he had a right to do. In this country, we have no power to compel him. We do not know whether he will bring his case before the Venerable Fathers. Certainly, the irregularity is to be regretted, by which Domine Lischy, against the public reputation which he had for piety, has turned his liberty into licentiousness, and has thus brought himself, not only under the censure of the

Church in general, but also of the whole Cœtus.”¹

In an abstract of the minutes of Cœtus of the year 1757, transferred to Holland by the secretary, Rev. Joh. Conrad Steiner, there is a full account of the case of Lischy, which furnishes a most instructive example of the devilish counterfeit which underlies that boasted spiritualism which, in one form or other, always ends in the flesh.²

The matter lingered for several years in the hands of the Cœtus, while “he continued in the same hardness of heart,” persevering in his insubordination to the authorities of the Church, and, at the same time, showing neither humility nor

¹ From the proceedings of Cœtus for the year 1759, transferred, in Latin, to Holland, the original of which has been kindly furnished the writer by Dr. De Witt, of New York.

² Nota res, V. P. breviter ita te habet. Jam a multo tempore, multæ, imo gravissimæ de D. Lischii Ecclesiæ Yorktunensis Pastore, querelæ motæ, consilio autem et auxilio amicorum et fautorum ipsius, secularium maxime, semper hactenus suppressæ fuerunt, donec ante annum circiter, D. Lischii, præmaturo suo, post obitum conjugis suæ, cum serva sua concubitu, quam quidem postea matrimonio sibi junxit, illa autem septimo post copulationem mense, filiolum integræ naturæ enixa est, novam et justissimam coetualibus suis, de ipso conquerendi, ansam dedit, qui isto Lischii lapsu adeo offensi et irritati sunt, ut longe maxima illorum pars, illum porro audire, et pro pastore suo agnoscere abnuerit. Membra congregationis ad fluvium Kreisskriek, unanimiter illum respuerunt. Congregatio Yorko politana a misere distracta et in duas partes discissa est, ita tamen, ut illorum pars, qui Lischium tanquam indignum Ministrum rejecerunt, alteram Partem, quæ illum retinere cupit, et Numero et Bonitate longe superet.—Cœtal Minutes, June 8, 1757.

penitence on account of his sin. Meanwhile, the strife continued in the York congregation, part taking sides with him, and part wishing him removed, as unfit to exercise the functions of the holy ministry. Other charges were added during the progress of his difficulties before Cœtus. At the Cœtus of 1760, "he was charged with duplicity, and accused of highly objectionable conduct." The minutes say: "Domine Lischy did not make known to us anything concerning the friendly letter addressed to him by the venerable Synod of Holland and the Reverend Classis: of this we have been kept in ignorance. This conduct is so provoking, that we can have no communion with him; and it appears he is growing worse, from day to day, so that we cannot hope anything good from him in the future."¹

Shortly after this, he was expelled from the ministry. He then left York, and removed to a farm, which he either before possessed, or then bought, some distance from York, on the Codorus, near the line between Pennsylvania and Maryland, where he farmed, and continued to preach, irregularly and independently, to some country congregations.

Mr. Lischy now disappears from the ecclesiastical arena. He continued to live on his farm until his death, which occurred 1781. He lies buried, by the side of his wife, in a retired family graveyard, on his own farm, not far from Wolff's church, in

¹ Extract in Dutch, communicated by I. D. Rupp, with a translation.

York county, Pa. A marble slab, marking his resting-place, bears the inscription: "In memory of the Rev. Jacob Lischy, V. D. M.; born in Switzerland, in Europe. Departed this life in the year A. D. 1781." The spot where he lies is elevated, and affords a considerable view of the rolling country around, and along the beautiful Codorus. The grave-yard is pretty large, but only six tombstones are visible in it: there seems, however, to be more graves there. Near the grave of his wife, who died in 1754, a large pear-tree has since grown up. The fence around it is in such a broken condition, that any animals roaming in the bordering fields may enter freely.¹ None of those who loved Lischy are there to protect his remains, and dress the sod which covers his ashes!

So passeth the glory of this world! "Also their love, and their hatred, and their envy is now perished: neither have they any more a portion forever in anything that is done under the sun."

The life of Lischy is a most instructive commentary on the bastard character of that kind of spiritualism which caught him up like a whirlwind, carried him through the many strange evolutions of his life, and drifted him at last upon the bleak and barren shores of the flesh and the world. He was what has since been called a New Measure revival man. The serious reader will easily discover the far-reaching similarity of this spirit, as it wrought in the time of Lischy, and as it manifested itself, nearly a century later, on the soil of

¹ Rev. Joel L. Reber, 1854.

the German Churches. He will see that its fruits, then and now, are the same. It would be interesting to point out this similarity definitely, and farther illustrate the points, from the facts of Lischy's life; but our sketch has grown to full size, and we are admonished to come to a conclusion.

We cannot, however, refrain from indicating the land-marks of this false spirit, as they are, and as they come to view in the life of Lischy, leaving the details to the reader's own meditations. This false spirit is, 1. Restless and roving; 2. Censorious and self-righteous; 3. Dishonest and double-dealing; 4. Insubordinate to authorities and order; 5. Stirring up strife and dividing churches; 6. Given to fleshly lusts; 7. Ending in some form or other outside of the Church, in the world. Having spent itself in spasms, it is helpless and dead. A careful review of the facts brought out in this sketch, as well as a study of the history of fanaticism, will show how truly these are the legitimate fruits of this plausible but dangerous spirit. The Church cannot too earnestly lay to heart the words of the beloved disciple: "Beloved, believe not every spirit, but try the spirits whether they are of God."

REV. JOHN BRANDMILLER.

1704—1777.

JOHN BRANDMILLER belongs to the class of ministers who were enlisted in carrying forward that peculiar religious union movement, about the middle of the last century, of which we have given an account in the lives of Bechtel, Antes, and Lischy. Being Reformed, he stood in the Reformed Tropos of "the congregation of God in the Spirit;" and, hence, so far as he labored publicly in the ministry, it was in the service of congregations that were prevailingly of Reformed type.

He himself has given us an account of the greater part of his singularly eventful life, which we translate:¹ "I was born in Basel, in Switzerland, on the 24th of November, in the year of our Lord, 1704. In the thirteenth year of my age, I was taken up into the Reformed religion, and, with specially deep feelings, amid many tears and much trembling, I went, for the first time, to the Holy Supper of the Lord. Soon after this, I was

¹ The original has been kindly furnished us by Rev. Levin T. Reichel, who has done much for the elucidation of American Church history.

placed with my uncle, to learn the printing business; but I did not serve out my time at this. My restless head caused me soon to leave the business and the place.

“On the first day after my departure, I fell into the hands of highwaymen, and was in danger of being murdered. Having escaped, I still continued my journey along the Rhine, towards Holland; and, on the way, at three different times, I narrowly escaped being drowned. And, in the place where I lodged the first night after my arrival at Amsterdam, I was again in danger of my life.

“Here I was urged, by several Prussian deserters, who lodged in the same house, to go with them to the East Indies, as a soldier; but the East India Company did not accept of me. Inasmuch as I had a great liking for life on the sea, I now made up my mind to go upon a man-of-war. My landlord, however, who was otherwise a frivolous Frenchman, advised me, in a truly parental manner, not to do this, saying that, if I were his worst enemy, he would neither advise nor assist me to a life upon the sea. He, however, recommended me to a certain German baron, as a lackey, to accompany him to Turkey, to whom also I engaged myself. I went with him as far as Treves. There he found a servant better suited to his purpose, and I was released from my obligation.

“I now resolved again to return to my home. On the way, at Lothringen, I met with a night-encampment of Swiss officers, in the French service: these engaged me for the service, for several

years, and so I became a soldier. After six weeks, two companies, to one of which I belonged, were quartered in a very sickly place. It was surrounded with miasmatic morass, for a great distance. Out of four hundred men, two-thirds died in the space of one year, and not one escaped sickness. I, too, lay sick in the hospital, in the midst of eighty beds, on which lay sick soldiers. This was a gloomy spectacle. There lay beside me a soldier who had a boil at his throat: in cutting it open, a vein was injured, and the blood could no more be stopped. Nothing could be done for him; and he crept under the cover, and died!

“This circumstance made a deep impression upon me, and caused the religious feelings of my fourteenth year to return. I wept, and called on God, during a whole night, for help and the pardon of my sins; and my prayers were not unheard. I was, however, taken with a fierce fever. I was bled; and, soon after, was taken with a fearful bleeding of the nose, which could not be stopped till I was bled a second time. After this, I was restored, in a few weeks.

“After I was well again, and had been several days in the barracks, the captain one day sent for me, and gave me a letter from my father to read. At length I resolved, like the prodigal son, to return to my father’s house, and so wrote to him to that effect. But, before I wrote, I found that my father had effected my discharge; whereupon I returned home, and, to my joyful surprise, instead of being put to prison, as I expected, I was greatly

shamed when I found myself received with many hundred tears, by my parents, brothers, and sisters.

“I was now again placed with my uncle, to finish the term of my apprenticeship. This done—after having made several journeyman excursions—I returned again to my father, who was by profession a book-keeper; and, in March, 1735, I was married to Anna Maria Burkhart, in which union God blessed us with three children.

“After some time, the spiritual concern of my heart increased. I heard, on one occasion, of Herrnhut, and procured Christian David’s history to read. I had now a strong desire to see Herrnhut myself, and, in March, 1738, I made a visit to that place; and my stay of five weeks there brought me a blessing never to be forgotten. There, in lonely groves, amid the bushes, and in the rose-gardens, I shed many thousand tears. My heart burned; and it was truly a season of refreshing to me.

“I returned by way of Jena and Marienborn, where, for the first time, I saw the dear, now sainted, disciple Zinzendorf. I now resolved to locate myself at Herrnhaag. Towards March, 1739, I arrived at Marienborn, with my family; and, after six weeks, I removed to Herrnhaag, since, contrary to expectation, I found the house which I was to occupy there, almost entirely unfinished. Here my heart enjoyed a blessed time; and it was not long till, under a deep sense of my unworthiness to enjoy such a privilege, I was re-

ceived into the community, and admitted to the Holy Supper.

“In 1741 I went, with the first pilgrim congregation, to Pennsylvania, leaving my wife, for the time, at Wetterau. After a sojourn of six months in the New World, I returned to Europe, in company with Christian Frölich, Sister Molther, and Seybolds. I remained in Herrnhag till the second pilgrim congregation departed, which, with my wife, I accompanied to America, in 1743.

“Arriving safely, I became the first deacon or steward in Bethlehem; in which situation I continued till I came to Swatara, to preach and take charge of the souls there.”

Thus far, Rev. Brandmiller tells the story of his life. On the 13th of May, 1745, he was ordained to the holy ministry, in Philadelphia; by whom is not known to us—most likely by the leaders of the union movement. After this, he was sent to preach, and take care of the souls at Allemängel, in East Pennsylvania; and, still later, for the same purpose, to Donegal, in Lancaster county, Pa. In company with Leonard Schmidt, of the Lutheran Tropos, he also made a missionary journey through Virginia. In 1759 he removed, with his wife, to Friedensthal, near Nazareth, where he labored, as a teacher, for the space of eight years. In 1768 he came again to Bethlehem, towards which his heart had looked as a place of rest. Here his wife died, November 4, 1776.

Neither his loneliness as a widower, nor yet his sojourn in the earthly pilgrimage, after this, was

long. On the 16th of August, 1777, he was found dead in the mill-race, at Bethlehem! He had complained of giddiness, on the previous day, on account of the very great heat which prevailed. Having been accustomed to wash his face and head in the race, he had gone out for that purpose, at five o'clock in the morning, when, it seems, he was overtaken with vertigo, and fell into the water. It was seen, in the grass, that he had slipped. His hand was also marked with a wound from a thorn, which he had received when, in falling, he grasped a bush.

As no one had seen him die, an inquest was held over his body. From all the circumstances, it could be clearly seen that he came to his death in the way indicated. The decision of the jury was, "accidental death." It is a singular fact, that, after having in his youth three times narrowly escaped drowning, at last, in the seventy-fourth year of his age, he should still die in the water. He was wonderfully led in his earthly life; but we hope he has safely reached the pilgrim's home, in the regions of the blest.

REV. CHRISTIAN HENRY RAUCH.

THIS man of God, and minister of Jesus Christ, belongs to the same type, and was devoted to the same movement, as those whose lives and acts we have just recorded. Having been German Reformed by education and early profession, and, owing to his relation to a number of German Reformed congregations, in their early history, in this county, he properly finds a place here. Besides, he was a most excellent specimen of a Christian man and minister, pervaded with a true missionary spirit, and extraordinary in his zeal and self-denial in the cause of Christ.

We have not been able to get a history of his early life, or to ascertain at what precise time he came to the New World: it was, however, previous to 1740. It was in this year that the Brethren sent out from Nazareth Mr. Rauch, as the first missionary, to operate among the Indians residing in the provinces of New York and Connecticut. His instructions were, "not in anywise to interfere with the labors of other missionaries or ministers, or cause any disturbance among them; but silently to observe whether any of the heathen were, by the grace of God, prepared to receive and believe the word of life; that, if even only one was to be

found desirous of hearing, to him the Gospel should be preached."

"With these instructions," the narrative goes on, "The missionary Christian Henry Rauch—a very amiable and pious man—set out, otherwise knowing nothing of the people to whom he was to preach the Gospel, nor even where to find them, being an utter stranger in the land; but, being assured of his call, he placed full confidence in God, that He would assist him, and lead him to those heathen to whom he was sent.

"On his arrival at New York, the 16th July, 1740, he accidentally met with a missionary who had come directly from St. Thomas, and was by him introduced to some pious friends, of whom he expected to obtain information respecting the heathen to whom he was going. These, however, far from encouraging him to proceed in his laudable undertaking, rather dissuaded him from it, representing those Indians as a set of debauched beings, among whom no European could dwell in safety; and it so happening that, during his stay at New York, an embassy to government arrived from the very people to whom he was going, he had an opportunity of observing the opinion of his pious friends verified, these Indians being, from day to day, in a state of intoxication; yet, at length, finding them tractable, he formed an acquaintance with them; and, receiving an invitation to pay them a visit, at their towns, he gladly accepted the offer, not in the least despairing that, by preaching the Gospel to them, they might,

through the grace of God, be brought to the knowledge of Christ, and become new creatures.

“Having arrived at Shekomeko, an Indian village bordering on Connecticut, near the Stissik mountain, he began his missionary labors; and, although many objections were made by the white settlers to the cause in which he was engaged, and notwithstanding all the obstacles and machinations which they threw in his way, he, with a manly perseverance, continued preaching the Gospel, and had the satisfaction to find that, before the end of the year, it had moved the hearts of some, and brought them to a sense of their depravity by nature; and, believing in the word, that Christ came into the world to bring sinners to repentance, that they might be saved, they were considered as candidates for holy baptism; and, being further instructed in the Christian religion, the three first were baptized, on the 22d of February, 1742; and, before the close of the year, twenty-six more were added to that number.”¹

In proportion to the success of this mission among the Indians, grew also a most wicked prejudice against it, and opposition to it, among the white settlers of the province; and they even went so far as to demand of the government that they be banished from the province. “The loss the whites sustained, in not having these Indians in their interest, and under their control, as formerly, when they were accustomed to take unlawful liberties and advantages of them, by defrauding them

¹ Heckwelder's Narrative, pp. 20, 21.

of their just due for labor, by imposing liquor upon them, thereby encouraging intoxication, for the sake of gain, was considered by them as a serious loss: added to this, the Indian converts would frequently detect and reprimand offenders, which these white men could not relish; and, ascribing the cause of the change in the life and morals of those Indians to the missionaries, they sought, by every stratagem, to get rid of them, and some even offered liquor to any Indian who would kill them."

All kinds of false charges were brought against the missionaries. They were accused as being enemies to the government; as being secret papists and traitors; as being in alliance with the French, in Canada, to furnish the Indians with arms and ammunition, to fight the English. In December, 1744, they were brought before the magistrate, for examination; and, still later, they were cited to appear before the governor himself, who, however, after investigation of the case, found no fault in them, and they were released. Still, they continued to be harassed; and, at length, such oppressive laws were passed in reference to them, and such restrictions laid upon them, that they could no longer carry forward their missionary work. In the beginning of the year 1745, they were compelled reluctantly to leave the converted Indians to themselves. A sad parting followed; and Mr. Rauch and his companions, not without receiving insults from mobs, on the route, found their way back to Bethlehem.

It was during the third year of his labors among the Indians in Connecticut, that the Union Synods were held in Pennsylvania. We find mention made of his presence at the third of these synods, which met in Oley, Feb. 21st to 23d, 1742. It is said that, during the meeting, besides the ordination of four brethren, two of whom were intended as missionaries among the Indians, three converted Indians were baptized, on the occasion, by their teacher, C. H. Rauch. They had, perhaps, accompanied him to Pennsylvania.

Mr. Rauch, after his return from Connecticut, had his attention turned to the home missionary work, in Pennsylvania. In 1746 we find him in the counties of Lancaster, Berks, and Lebanon. He preached for the Reformed, more or less regularly, in Heidelberg, Tulpehocken, Mühlbach, at Matthias Dietz's, Swatara, Quetopahilla, Donegal, Warwick, at Leonard Bender's, Lancaster, Modecreek, Coventry, in Chester county, Oley, Schippach, and Goshenhoppen, in Montgomery county. In all these places, there were what were called "awakened souls," who inclined towards the type of ministry which characterized those who were enlisted in the Union movement. These desired to be visited. "The dear people were very thankful indeed that I visited them, and assured me, again and again, that they considered it a great favor to be visited by the Brethren; for always, they said, they felt in their hearts that the Brethren brought something along, and they could not give thanks enough to the Saviour for the happy

hour in which they had become acquainted with the Brethren."¹

September 9th, 1749, Mr. Rauch took charge of the Brethren congregation and school at Litz, "filling the office of teacher and preacher, in Warwick, and also that of superintendent of the surrounding country congregations, with much faithfulness, activity, and industry, the blessing of God resting upon his labors, in an ever-memorable manner, till December the 20th, 1753, on which day he took an affecting farewell of his beloved Warwickers, and went to Bethlehem."²

We also find that, on the 1st of January, 1750, the congregation at Hebron—a Moravian congregation near Lebanon, and now removed to the town of Lebanon—"was organized by C. H. Rauch, who administered the first communion there."³

While he was acting as superintendent among the congregations of the Reformed Tross in this part of Pennsylvania, he also extended his visits across the Susquehanna, into York county. He preached occasionally for the Reformed in the churches of York and Kreutz-creek, previous to 1750. "November 27th, 1751, Brother C. H. Rauch administered the Holy Communion, for the first time, at the Codorus. In 1754 a society of twenty-six persons was formed

¹ C. H. Rauch's Diary, March 5, 1747, quoted by Rev. Levin T. Reichel, in his Home Mission Sermon, May 9, 1852.

² Die Beine, vol. iii, No. 14.

³ Rev. Levin T. Reichel, Home Miss. Sermon.

there, by Brother Hehl.”¹ A few years after he returned to Bethlehem, he seems to have gone to Salem, North Carolina. Among others, we find him mentioned as “having been in the service of the province in general, and of the Salem congregation in particular,” in 1755–56.

Later than this, we have no notice of him. He was now fully in the interests of the Moravian Church. No doubt, the well-kept archives of these worthy Christian people furnishes an account of the remaining period of his life; but we have not been able, by searching, to find out the facts. He was a most excellent man; and we may be sure that his life, however long or short it may have been, and wherever it ended, was earnestly spent in the service of his Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

¹ *Büder-Blatt*, Zweiter Jahrgang, 1855, p. 400.

REV. JOHN CONRAD WIRTZ.

HE was a Swiss by birth. In giving an account, in the York, Pa., Records, of the laying of the corner-stone of the German Reformed Church, he incidentally mentions that he is "a native of the city and county of Zurich, in Switzerland."

Mr. Wirtz was in this country when Mr. Schlatter arrived here. The first trace we have of this man, in America, is to be found in Schlatter's Journal. It is as follows: "On the 14th of October, 1746, a certain Mr. J. C. Wirtz came to visit me. He sought to apologize for having, during several years, performed the acts of a minister, in several congregations, in this country, without a regular call, or under ecclesiastical order. He said he had done so on the earnest solicitations of the people, who chose to be instructed and edified by an unordained minister, rather than be entirely without a shepherd, and nourishment for their souls; and that his own destitute circumstances, also, had pressed him to comply with their wishes. He begged humbly that I would assist him by my counsel and act, to procure for him, from the fatherland, an orderly introduction into the ministerial office, that he might afterwards be regu-

larly installed in such congregations as might desire his services, as a properly authorized pastor.”¹

Mr. Schlatter gave him, as a reply, that he was not yet sufficiently acquainted either with his qualifications and manner of life, or with the inclinations of the people among whom he had hitherto irregularly officiated, to take any immediate action; but that he hoped to inquire into his case, in the coming spring, and report to the Synod of Holland accordingly, and await their direction.

Meanwhile, it appears Mr. Wirtz continued in his congregations. On the 28th of June, 1747, Mr. Schlatter came to Saucon, where he speaks of a congregation served, at that time, by this Mr. Wirtz. Mr. Schlatter preached in the congregation, on the 29th; and, after service, opened his commission before the congregation, and asked them whether they desired that Mr. Wirtz, who was present, should continue to be their pastor, in case the Reverend Synod should authorize him as a regular minister. “The congregation,” says Mr. Schlatter, “was not unanimous, but many desired rather to have some other regular minister, that entire harmony might be maintained and advanced in the congregation.”² This done, Mr. Schlatter went nine miles farther, in the afternoon, to Springfield, or Schuggenhaus, a congregation also under the irregular care of Mr. Wirtz, where he preached, on the 30th. He put the same questions to this people, with the same result as that manifested at Saucon.

¹ Schlatter's Journal.
33*

² Ibid.

There is nothing in all this that directly affects his moral character. Mr. Schlatter was only careful to guard the Church against the irregularity involved in the case; and the sense and feeling of the people very properly sustained the effort to introduce order among them, in ecclesiastical matters.

After this, we have no farther notice of him by Mr. Schlatter. He appears, however, to have left the congregations in which Mr. Schlatter found him. Later, he had charge of some congregations in New Jersey—Rockaway among the number—and received ordination of the Presbyterian Presbytery of New Brunswick, and became a member of that body.¹

¹ The following action of the Synod of New York, in three successive years, refers to Mr. Wirtz:

“NEWARK, Sept. 27, 1750.

“The High Dutch congregation of Rockaway, in the Township of Lebanon, applied to the Synod that they might be taken under the care of Synod, and that a certain person now preaching among them may be taken under examination, and, if approved, ordained as a minister. The Synod, in order to clear their way to transact anything with said people, do appoint Mr. Pember-ton to make inquiry, of the Dutch ministers of New York, whether said people do belong to their jurisdiction; and he is to acquaint a committee of Synod how that matter is. And the Synod appoints Messrs. Pierson, Burr, Arthur, Smith, and Spencer, their committee, to sit at such time and place as they shall appoint, and transact, in said affair, according as things shall then appear to them.”—Records of Pres. Ch., p. 241.

“Sept. 26, 1751.—The committee report that, difficulties rising in their way, from time to time, they could do nothing in the

Here he remained till towards the close of the year 1761. Rev. C. M. Stapfel, who succeeded him, makes mention of him in a letter to Cœtus, dated May 17, 1763. He refers to the fact that he was ordained by the Presbytery, and tells the Cœtus that "this man publicly, on the pulpit, held marriage to be a sacrament."¹ His sentiments may have been erroneously reported by the people: they seem to have been Mr. Stapfel's authority.

About this time, Mr. Wirtz was called to the congregation at York, Pennsylvania; and, on taking charge, he made, under date of May 12, 1762, the following entry in the church-book :

"On the 21st day of August, in the year of our dear Redeemer Jesus Christ, 1761, I, JOHN CONRAD WIRTZ, minister of the Word of God, and installed pastor of the congregations of Rockaway and Valley, in Jersey, received an invitation from this congregation, by the hands of Mr. Balthaser Spangler, to visit and preach to them, in the hope that a gracious God would incline our hearts to an affectionate union, and thus again supply this forsaken flock

matter; and, as application is again made, they recommend that it be referred to the Presb. of New Brunswick, to do as they think best, when the matter is laid before them."—Idem, pp. 243 44.

"Sept. 28, 1752.—According to appointment of Synod, the Presbytery of New Brunswick examined the affair of the Dutch congregation at Rockaway, and ordained Mr. Worts (Wirtz) to be their minister."—Idem, p. 246.

¹ See a letter transcribed by Dr. Mayer, MS., vol. i. p. 160.

with a faithful pastor and teacher. With the divine blessing and favor, I concluded to accept of this invitation, and determined to undertake the journey, accompanied by the before-mentioned Mr. Spangler. Accordingly, we set out on the 27th day of August, and arrived here safely, and in good health, on the 1st day of September. On the following Sabbath, I preached my first sermon; and, by request, delivered three or four additional discourses subsequently, which were so blessed, by the Father of Lights, that the respected congregation, with unfeigned affection, unanimously desired me to become their pastor, inasmuch as the Rev. Mr. Lischy had forsaken them, and as the members individually had entire confidence in me.

“A formal and regular call, dated on the 12th of September, 1761, and signed by the elders and members, was tendered to me, which I was unable to decline, yet accepted only on condition that I should be able to obtain the consent of my congregations in Jersey, and of the Reverend Presbytery of Brunswick, by which I had been ordained to the work of the ministry.

“Subsequently, on obtaining the consent of my congregations, and receiving a dismissal from the Reverend English Presbytery of Brunswick, dated the 24th of October, 1761, I removed to this place, in the name of the Lord Jesus, and arrived on the 5th day of May, 1762, and, on the following Sabbath, being the 9th of May, preached my introductory sermon, from Rev. x. 10, having resolved to

serve this congregation according to the grace of God, in the preaching of the Word and the administration of the sacraments—whereunto may a merciful God, for Jesus' sake, grant and communicate the grace, strength, and aid of His holy Spirit.

“JOHN CONRAD WIRTZ, V. D. M.

“May 12th, 1762.”

His ministry in the congregation at York was of short duration, only about one year and a half. He was called home, and passed from the labors of the Church on earth to the rest and reward of the Church in heaven, on Wednesday, September 21, 1763. He was buried on the Friday following.

His wife survived him. Whether he had any children is not now known. During the short period of his ministry in York, he baptized eighty-three children, and buried fourteen persons. How many were added to the Church is not known, but it appears that the congregation flourished. They erected a new church during his ministry : at the laying of the corner-stone he preached from Ezra iii. 10, 11. He seems to have been enabled to attend to his ministerial duties till near his end. His last baptism was performed August 14, 1763. At the time of his death, the floor was not yet laid in the church ; so they buried him in the church, under the altar, where his body awaits the voice that shall awaken the dead.

Tradition has preserved his name in good savor, as an earnest and pious minister. The church re-

cords, at York, bear various incidental marks of his zeal for the Church, and his personal piety and devotion. "After the laying of the corner-stone," says the records, "the pastor expressed the following wish: "In the church now to be erected, may Piety preside, Holiness reign, Truth ever prevail, Love and Harmony dwell, that the congregation may uninterruptedly flourish."

He closes his account of the occasion of laying the corner-stone, thus: "This memorandum is prepared and recorded as a memorial and testimony that this church has been built and dedicated to and for the use of the German Reformed congregation, while the world stands; that is, solely for the doctrines which our sainted Reformers,

CALVIN, ZWINGLI, MELANCHTHON,

have bequeathed to us, based on the holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments.

"We close with this prayer: May the Lord bless all who adhere to this Church; here with temporal, and yonder with spiritual and eternal blessings. May the Lord be pleased to look upon us graciously, and direct all things according to His own good pleasure. Amen.

'Gottes Wort, und Reformirte Lehr,
Bleib und vergehe nimmermehr.'

END OF VOL. I.

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